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NATIONAL REVIEW

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March 7, 1956

A WEEKLY JOURNAL OF OPINION

Congress Faces Electoral Reform

LUCIUS WILMERDING, JR.

Kefauver: The Political Man

PETER CRUMPET

The Uses of Modern Poetry

FRANK S. MEYER

Articles and Reviews by · · · · · · JOHN CHAMBERLAIN
WILLIAM S. SCHLAMM · SAM M. JONES · EDWARD CASE
L. BRENT BOZELL · WILLMOORE KENDALL · PHILIP BURNHAM

#16

from WASHINGTON *straight*

A NEWSLETTER

SAM M. JONES

First Starring Role

Senator Albert Gore, Democrat of Tennessee, though long highly regarded by his colleagues, is getting his first place in the national spotlight as chairman of the committee investigating campaign contributions and their effect on legislation. Although he was quite active as a member of the lower house, this is his first big effort as Senator. During nearly four years in the Senate he has been more or less overshadowed by his colleague, Senator Estes Kefauver, but there never has been any doubt that he was the more highly respected of the two upper-house members from Tennessee. Gore has been and is a team player, while Kefauver has irked more than one of his fellow senators by his lone wolf tactics.

Brownell is Gas-Veto Target

Supporters of the vetoed gas bill give Attorney General Herbert Brownell credit (or discredit) for the veto of the measure. Brownell's quick action in taking Senator Case and Attorney Neff, who offered Case the $2500 campaign contribution, before the District of Columbia grand jury, is believed to have had a telling effect on President Eisenhower. Also, it is understood here that Brownell strongly urged the President to veto the bill. Some of the bill's backers believe that Brownell had his own political future in mind; that he intends to run some day for Governor or Senator in New York and his work for the gas-bill veto won't hurt him any among the Empire State's gas consumers. They also point out that there are no producers in New York.

Monroney Girds for Action

Although the vetoed gas bill bore the names of Representative Harris and Senator Fulbright, both of Arkansas, the man who really steered it through the Senate was Senator A. S. (Mike) Monroney, Democrat of Oklahoma, well liked on both sides of the aisle. The greatest opposition came from gas-distributing companies which Monroney claims have been waxing fat at the expense of both producers and consumers. The Oklahoman is collecting as exhibits not only his personal gas bills but those of others, and it is reported that he will move for some sort of strict regulation of the distributing companies. He claims that many distributors sell gas to consumers for as much as ten times what they pay for it, reaping sometimes 900 per cent profit. And, he claims, they have no investment to make other than in equipment necessary for distribution, while producers spend large sums in exploration and in various other ways. The gamble, Monroney says, is all on the side of the producers. The rates to consumers are now largely set by state public utility commissions, and it could well be that Congress would move to put these rates under Washington and thereby gain a thigh hold on the distributing companies.

Celler Has Aspirations

The Administration's sudden about-face on the shipment of tanks and other arms to the foes of Israel gave Representative Emanuel Celler of New York his opportunity to wail loud and long and to announce that he would run for the Democratic nomination for Senator from New York if 78-year-old Senator Herbert H. Lehman decides to retire. There is little expectation here, however, that Senator Lehman will retire. Even if he wants to quit, the organization in New York won't let him. They'd much rather he'd run, get re-elected and resign in a year or two, thus permitting Governor Harriman to name a hand-picked Democratic successor.

Russell Will Help George

Reports reaching Washington from Georgia are that the dean of the Senate, Walter F. George, still faces more than rugged going from Governor Herman E. Talmadge. The oncoming battle has moved the state's junior Senator, Richard B. Russell, to tell friends that for the first time in his long career he will take an active part in a campaign in which he is not personally involved. Some time during the campaign he will announce his support of George. It isn't that he does not like Talmadge. It's just that Senator George has been his friend for many years, helped to guide his early steps in the Senate and has always helped to make his way easy in Washington.

NATIONAL REVIEW

A WEEKLY JOURNAL OF OPINION

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The WEEK

Harold E. Stassen, White House adviser on disarmament, has put in an unexpected pitch for the late Geneva conference. Speaking to Presbyterian laymen in New York, he implied that President Eisenhower's conduct at Geneva had induced Khrushchev's recent repudiation of the Marxist thesis on the inevitability of war; and that, therefore, Geneva may have been "the turning point" in world affairs. This at the very moment when the State Department was pointing to the increased danger of a Russian-fanned war in the Near East. It looks as though for people who don't like Dulles the Administration keeps Stassen.

Not, to be sure, without provocation, the *New York Times* lit out after Richard Nixon for classifying the Supreme Court's anti-segregation decision as, in effect, a Republican contribution to interracial harmony. Nixon had said, "And, speaking for a unanimous Supreme Court, a great Republican Chief Justice, Earl Warren, has ordered an end to racial segregation in the nation's schools." What made it hard to swallow the *Times*' reprimand was the title of its editorial—"Bad Taste and Bad History." This from a newspaper engaged in syndicating the memoirs of Harry Truman!

There was violence in Fountain Inn, South Carolina, last week strangely unnoticed given its man-bites-dog character. Two shots were fired at the Reverend Joseph S. Jones, a Presbyterian minister, while he was shaving in his bathroom. The shots missed him, but came very close to hitting Mrs. Jones, who was baking a cake. The would-be assassins have not been apprehended; but the police have concluded that the attack on Jones was made by a person, or persons, who hotly resented Jones' "unalterable opposition to the mixing of the races" and his frequent denunciations of the NAACP as an "institution of confusion."

Ten admitted Communists hailed the acquittal of four of their number by an Ohio federal jury as "an important advance forward in the struggle for the elimination of the Smith Act and the restoration of the Bill of Rights." They had reason to rejoice; for

the first time—after twelve trials under the Smith Act—a jury has freed a defendant by ruling that the fact that he is highly situated in the Communist Party does not in itself commit him to conspiring to advocate the overthrow of the government by violent revolution. Note: Will the renunciation by the Twentieth Congress of revolution as a necessary means of inducing socialism take the ground out from under the Smith Act?

Before the Joint Committee on the Economic Report, Secretary Humphrey opposed stand-by powers to regulate consumer credit. He was against even a study of them. We applaud his economic soundness, but still more his integrity. The study was asked for by President Eisenhower in the Economic Report as a way of silencing the planners within and without the Administration. It would have been easy for Humphrey to go along, and he didn't.

The Nation magazine has changed publisher and editor (Freda Kirchwey had served as both); but never fear, the new publisher announces, the *Nation* will remain the same. "We side with the intellectual and political nonconformist," he reassures us. The brochure advertising the magazine's persistent dauntlessness carries testimonials to it from such reckless nonconformists as Arthur Hays Sulzberger, Helen Rogers Reid, Felix Frankfurter, Dag Hammerskjold, and Harry S. Truman—brothers, all, in martyrdom, as the result of their lifetime refusal to conform.

The Veto

The President's veto of the gas bill is an act of rank political opportunism. The veto message itself (analyzed below), though in other respects garbled, incoherent, and contradictory, is explicit in impugning the integrity of the Senate. The Natural Gas Act, the President is saying, is, to be sure, desirable. However, he doubts whether, in passing it, the Senate was motivated by a desire to serve the national interest. In vetoing it, he acts on the assumption that the passage of the bill reflects not the conviction of the Senate but its corruption.

The insinuation, tagged lamely onto the veto message, that the bill was in some way deficient in that it did not clearly enough protect the interests of the consumer, flouts specific provisions in the bill and begs the question why, if the bill was unsatisfactory in any particular, the President did not communicate his criticism to Senate leaders while it was being debated. The President's loosely worded objection, coming as it did eighteen months after the bill was drafted, must be written off as frivolous.

The fact is, the President capitulated to pressure, and acted against the national interest as he understands the national interest. What he intimates some Senators *might* have been guilty of, i.e., of capitulating to pressure, it is horribly clear the President *is* guilty of. For he was, so to speak, successfully bribed—by demagogic pressures. In sum, he abused his office.

The Veto Message

We have studied the President's veto message on the natural gas bill (H. R. 6645), which, to say the least, is puzzling.

The President affirms of the bill: "I am in accord with its basic objectives"—and again, "Legislation conforming to the basic objectives of H. R. 6645 is needed." Why? "Because the type of regulation of producers of natural gas which is required under present law will discourage individual initiative and incentive to explore for and develop new sources of supply."

Therefore? Why therefore, the President concludes, "I am unable to approve H. R. 6645"—therefore, that is, he vetoes it.

Let us examine how the President jumped the gap between his premises and his conclusion:

"A body of evidence has accumulated indicating that private persons, apparently representing only a very small segment of a great and vital industry, have been seeking to further their own interests by highly questionable activities." What have we here? We are not told what persons, what industry, what particular interests or exactly what kind of activities are suspect—only that these last are "questionable." As the sentence stands, it cannot be denied. Men being what they are, there are always, and in all fields, some who engage in questionable activities to further their own interests. But since the men to whom the President refers are "private persons," and since they represent only "a very small segment" of an industry, it is not clear what their activities, questionable or not, have to do with the propriety of a bill duly voted, in their *public* capacity, by the members of Congress.

"The aforesaid activities of certain private persons," the President continues, "include efforts I deem to be so arrogant . . . as to risk creating doubt among the American people concerning the integrity of governmental processes." Arrogance is not an attractive quality. But it is not a vice, either, and certainly not a crime. Does the President propose to veto all future legislation toward which labor unions or farmers' organizations display arrogance by contributing to election funds, employing lobbyists, buying TV time, or even by resorting to threats and cajolery?

Arrogance aside, where does "the integrity of governmental processes" come in? In the only specific act we have read about, a Senator *refused* a contribution. It seems to us that this incident, so far as it goes, should tend not to create but to *quiet* doubts among the American people "concerning the integrity of governmental processes."

"I believe," writes the President in completion of his argument, "I would not be discharging my own duty were I to approve this legislation before the activities in question have been fully investigated by the Congress and the Department of Justice. To do so under such conditions could well create long-term apprehension in the minds of the American people." We agree there should be an investigation of "questionable activities" in connection with H. R. 6645, though we do not go along with the President's message in prejudging the results. Our guess is the investigation will reveal that pressure was pretty evenly divided between the two sides. The utilities and political machines of the big cities and the northern trade unions, all of which were lined up against H. R. 6645, are no slouches at arrogance. But whatever the investigations show, why would it have created "long-term apprehension" in anybody's mind if meanwhile the President approved a law that, by his own analysis, has the right objectives and promises to serve the interests of the nation and the consumers?

The gap between premises and conclusion can't, in a word, be filled; and the veto argument remains what logicians call an *ignoratio elenchi*—beside the point, a begging of the question.

Chain Reaction

The old, respected National Grange wants, and may get, a wheat subsidy added to the farm bill now before the Senate, involving the sale of surpluses abroad.

The subsidy embodies a hope and a fear. The hope: if the population continues to increase, and if Americans can be persuaded to eat a little more meat and poultry, the problem of corn and other feed grains will, within five years, be permanently solved. The fear: as the feed-grain surplus disappears and prices rise, wheat farmers will switch from wheat to feed grains, and a hopeless new surplus will be created. The aim of the wheat subsidy is to keep the wheat industry secure by giving it a permanent overseas market.

In claiming that the proposed subsidy would do away with surpluses, the Grange is probably right. The farm states would no longer be dotted with expensive steel bins in which good food is deteriorating. Whatever the farmers grew would be eaten by someone, somewhere in the world, and paid for, at some price. For under the subsidy proposal, exporters would sell wheat for whatever it would bring, and be reimbursed by the Treasury for the difference between the price at which it is sold, and the pre-stipulated price paid to the farmer.

Such a move, of course, would mean economic war with friendly nations. France, for example, is now a wheat exporter, and subsidized American competition might upset the precarious French balance of payments. A wheat subsidy would inevitably bring a cotton subsidy, and subsidized cotton exports would damage the economies of Egypt, Brazil, Peru.

The answer of the Grange is that these countries, and many others, are themselves prepared to underwrite direct or indirect subsidies. And through the foreign-aid program, the United States helps make that possible. The final, crushing Grange argument to Congress: Frenchmen and Egyptians don't vote in American elections.

The Twentieth Congress

The function of a Congress of a Communist Party is not well understood outside of Party ranks. In the late twenties, the ruling group within Soviet and international Communism, then under Stalin's leadership, liquidated inner-Party factions. The Party program was transferred into a monolithic "general line" to which all Party members everywhere must adhere.

Under these conditions, which still prevail, a Party Congress is not a meeting for the purposes of debate or decision. It is a ritual gathering for the performance of certain ceremonial acts. The debating and the deciding have taken place long before the Congress opens. At the Congress, Communist hierarchs, in an ordered procession, pronounce pre-established formulas to the antiphonal response of the gathered faithful.

A Congress thus does not start anything new in Communist policy, strategy or tactics; it does not initiate a "turn"; it has no surprises for the inner circle. At most it puts into a kind of symbolic code the decisions already made, the turn already initiated, and the strategy presently unfolding.

So understood, the procedures of a Party Congress can be moderately revealing; and as the record of the 20th Congress of the Soviet Party, just concluded, becomes more fully available, we shall be publishing various sorts of commentary on it. Here we restrict our remarks to certain aspects of the reported speeches.

1. This 20th Congress displays as in full course a "Right" turn in the continuous movement of international Communism toward its fixed goal of world

domination. This turn was foreshadowed even before the death of Stalin, at the 19th Congress (September 1952), and swung into cruising speed during 1955. It is the eighth major turn since the Russian Revolution. It can appropriately be named "the Geneva period."

2. The appearance of Togliatti, chief of the Italian Party, and Thorez, chief of the French Party, as speakers at the Congress emphasize that a primary feature of this period is the drive for a Popular Front —already functioning in France, Italy, Indonesia, Greece, Brazil, Burma, Singapore and elsewhere.

3. The suggested partial repudiation of Stalin and some of the purge trials; the form of the talk about peaceful coexistence; the (unanimous, of course) echoing of Khrushchev's strictures on one-man leadership; the statement that war is not inevitable in accomplishing the inevitable victory of Communism; the throwback to Lenin and Leninism (as against Stalin and Leninism-Stalinism) together with the rehabilitation of some of the liquidated early oppositionists—all these signs seem to be come-ons for heterodox Communists and for neutralists; especially for Tito and Mao (who were invited but did not attend) and for Nehru. The Congress tried to suggest that the Communist imperial structure now has room for mildly variant varieties of national Communism; and that it can now ally itself to a non-Communist country like India.

4. It seems probable that an implicit Congress target of primary importance was Germany. Basing itself on the idea that the only historical solution for Germany is toward the East, and knowing that illness or death must soon rid them of Adenauer, the Communists are making a powerful bid, principally to the German Social Democrats but also to the extreme German nationalists.

5. The Congress combined terrorist threats about what Soviet arms could do to enemies with remarks that renounced aggressive war and advocated pacifism and disarmament. The purpose of this combination, classical in Communist propaganda, is to soften up the opponents' will to resist, and to lead them to let up on defense measures. The opponent is then confronted with a constantly repeated dilemma: either to give way on an allegedly "minor" point, or to undertake what will be portrayed as "preventive war."

It is true, however, that now as in the past the Communists consider overt and general war as a secondary and reserve method—to be initiated only when a favorable outcome is assured either by the small size of the opponent or by his prior internal collapse. In the preferred schedule of Communist conquest, the main burden of the offensive is carried by political warfare and internal subversion. The main armies remain in reserve as a defense, or to be sent to gather the harvest that political warfare has ripened.

6. There is no evidence of any important disputes within the Communist leadership on international policy and strategy. The disputes which there have lately been, and which continue, seem to be concerned with internal economic questions, with problems of the relations among the different parts of the Soviet world, and above all with the struggle for power among the competing groups and individuals.

Congress Keep Out

It is no longer news when the Executive branch refuses to make information available to the Congress. It would therefore hardly be worth comment that the Senate Permanent Investigations Subcommittee has so far failed in its efforts to find out the truth about controls on trade with the Soviet empire. The Soviet authorities obviously know what items they cannot import, and what changes in the list have been made from time to time. The officials of the thirteen other nations party to the control agreement know. But the representatives of the American people are not permitted this knowledge, even though it bears directly on the war-making, fiscal and commercial powers granted to the Congress by the Constitution, and is subject to Congress' continuous obligation to check the manner in which the Executive carries out the laws under which it is supposed to be operating.

Such Executive defiance is no longer news. But we still found it just a little startling to note that the name of the Executive officer who communicated the defiance to Chairman McClellan of the Senate Subcommittee was Herbert Hoover, Jr.

Rehabilitation

John Carter Vincent was the featured speaker at a Midwest Residential Seminar on World Affairs, held recently in Grafton, Illinois, just north of St. Louis, and sponsored by a dozen national organizations of immense prestige. He was introduced, with eloquent simplicity, as "Former Chief, Division of Chinese Affairs, U.S. Department of State." His remarks before the seminar were off the record.

Mr. Vincent has had a much more interesting career than the seminarians were perhaps told. He joined the State Department in 1924, specializing in Far Eastern affairs. During the war, he served, for a period, as special assistant to Lauchlin Currie, whom Elizabeth Bentley identified as having been a member of the Silvermaster Communist spy group. Vincent

became the key State Report official concerned with China policy. The McCarran Committee, investigating the Institute of Pacific Relations, devoted a great deal of attention to Vincent, concluding that "over a period of years, John Carter Vincent was the principal fulcrum of IPR pressures and influence in the State Department."

That influence, the Committee found, was steadfastly pro-Chinese-Communist. And then Mr. Louis Budenz testified, in the summer of 1951, that he had known Vincent to be a member of the Communist Party. Small wonder, under the circumstances, that on December 12, 1952, the Civil Service Loyalty Review Board found that a reasonable doubt existed concerning Mr. Vincent's loyalty to the United States. Dean Acheson maneuvered desperately to save him, but those were Acheson's last days in power, and Dulles promptly got rid of him. It's not that Vincent was disloyal, Dulles, in firing him, said dutifully (and correctly: Vincent was found to be a loyalty *risk*, not disloyal). It's that his judgment as top responsible officer in the Far Eastern Division of the State Department during the period of the great betrayal demonstrably was so bad as to render him useless.

Why, one wonders, should John Carter Vincent be highlighted in an important Midwestern seminar concerned with "The Outlook for Our China Policy"? The seminar was not sponsored by Communists but, mostly, by Liberal organizations—i.e., the American Labor Education Service, the American Association for the United Nations, the Social Science Foundation, the Institute of International Education, the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, the American Library Association, the Foreign Policy Association, and the American Foundation for Political Education—and, even, the U.S. Chamber of Commerce. Why did these groups pick Vincent? Is it because they now conclude that he and the IPR were right all along?

Owen Lattimore lectures in Hartford under the sponsorship of the American Civil Liberties Union. Oliver Edmund Clubb writes an article for the *Progressive*. Edward Posniak starts writing book reviews. Alger Hiss writes the lead article for *Pocket Book Magazine*. The whole crowd, held at bay for a few years after the discoveries of McCarran and McCarthy, is being studiedly rehabilitated. And once again, with an impudence almost disarming, they are telling us how to manage our foreign policy.

That advice, essentially, calls for recognizing Communist China; for abandoning any romantic illusions we might harbor as to the capacity of Chiang Kai-shek to reconquer the mainland; for "avoiding war" over Quemoy and Matsu; for admitting Red China into the United Nations; and for loosening our ties with Formosa. Those who resist that policy of hopelessness are "professional friends of Formosa." In such fashion did Vincent dismiss Senator Knowland and others who resist the neo-IPR line. Of all people, Vincent ought to be fastidious in the use of his language. If such general characterizations are to be made, it is equally accurate to dismiss him, and many of his friends and admirers, as professional friends of Communism. But no matter how one dismisses Vincent, one cannot dismiss so easily his incredible organizational support. This, one must sadly admit, is a serious phenomenon of our suicidal age.

Not Much Margin

The recent election in Greece was an ominous test of the Communists' current Popular Front tactic. The Greek voters brought their nation to the brink of a serious defeat for the West, avoided in the end only by oddities of the Greek electoral law.

The pro-Western premier, Constantine Karamanlis, ran under the banner of the National Radical Union, which incorporated most of the former Greek Rally that had been formed under the leadership of Mr. Karamanlis' predecessor, the great anti-Communist hero, Alexander Papagos. The foreign policy of the National Radical Union was based on friendship with the West, solid support of NATO, and continuing close ties with the United States.

Most of the opposition groups (although they represented a wide range of tendencies and views) were maneuvered by the Communists into a seven-party Popular Front coalition called the Democratic Union. (The Greek Communists themselves are now operating, under an American Labor Party type of disguise, as the "United Democratic Left.")

In part, the opposition to Mr. Karamanlis was based on the usual sort of domestic difficulty. Resentment over the Cyprus issue had aroused considerable anti-Western feeling. And in the background, the uncountered world drive of the Soviet Union had suggested to many in Greece as in every nation that a pro-Western policy may not be the most sensible insurance against the hazards of the future.

Nearly all observers predicted a victory for the Popular Front. But Mr. Karamanlis, though slightly behind in popular vote, gained a small majority in the new parliament.

This unexpected and precarious but not less valuable victory of Mr. Karamanlis will keep Greece, for the present, from shifting into the steep road through neutralism to Moscow. He remains in power only because he openly faced the basic issue. In his pre-election broadcast to the nation, he declared: "This struggle has become a struggle between the nation and Communism. No Greek has the right

to show less faith in Greece than the Communists show in Communism." And the premier's firmness continues to bring positive results. Three days after the election, one of the opposition parties broke away from the Popular Front coalition, and announced that it would support Mr. Karamanlis in Parliament. This, it is certain, would not have happened if Mr. Karamanlis' attitude toward the Popular Front had been one of conciliation and appeasement.

Back from Skid Rauh

After a brief silence, the irrepressible Joseph L. Rauh, Jr., ADA chairman and paymaster of anti-McCarthy confidence men, is back in the news. Before the American Civil Liberties chapter in his home town of Cincinnati (and thus protected against unkind laughter and rude questions), he last week joined in the attack on Vice President Nixon for his allegedly slanderous remarks about Truman in the 1954 campaign.

Republican National Chairman Hall had offered to give a cash reward to anyone supplying the place, time and text of any speech in which Nixon called Truman a "traitor," as charged, and there had been no contestants for the award, not even Harry Truman. But before his ACLU audience, Rauh had a way around this obstacle that seemed to show the Hughes trial had impressed itself on his sharp and agile mind. Sure, Rauh said, it may be true that Nixon didn't *actually* say that about Truman. But (and herewith the clincher) the fact that he didn't is a measure of Nixon's dishonesty: since Nixon clearly labeled Truman a traitor by "implication and innuendo," contended Rauh, it might have been more "honorable" to have come right out with it.

Perhaps the ADA will offer an award to anyone "honorable" enough to call Truman a traitor.

There Is Confusion . . .

Mr. Arthur Miller, the playwright, recently announced that he had been invited by one Soviet and two American organizations to make a public statement commemorating the 75th anniversary of Dostoevsky's death, and that he had thriftily obliged by sending identical statements to all three.

In his statement Mr. Miller equated governmental suppression of an author's work in Russia with disapproval of it by private organizations in America. He had, he said, been "deprived of his right to create a screen play in America"—a reference to the fact that the New York City Youth Board withdrew an invitation to Mr. Miller to write the script for a film, after citizens' groups had objected to his employment.

Now, of course, Mr. Miller was not deprived of any *right*, but only of a privilege which it was the *right* of those who had accorded it to withdraw. It is Mr. Miller's *right* to get his plays produced if he can find a producer, and in exercising it he has been extremely successful—critically and commercially.

But the press gave a big play to Mr. Miller's false analogy, and no doubt it will powerfully reinforce the current propaganda by which the Communists and those who abet them attempt to identify those who fight the Soviet conspiracy with the conspiracy itself as common enemies of our liberty.

Their success is strikingly illustrated in the outcome of a recent election in the New York local of the American Federation of Television and Radio Artists (AFTRA). For the first time in eight years, the anti-Communist slate lost out—to a so-called middle-of-the-road group which concentrated its fire not on the Communists (who are notoriously active in the entertainment field) but upon the anti-Communist organization, AWARE, Inc.

In the Liberal lexicon, obviously, both Communists and anti-Communists are enemies, but the anti-Communists are more so.

Undersized Monopoly

We have written to Judge Barnes, head of the Justice Department's Anti-Trust Division, to inquire about the consent decree in the Hilton Hotels case. We are anxious as to what constitutes monopoly these days.

After Hilton bought the Statler chain, he was charged with monopoly. According to the decree, Hilton is to sell four hotels—none of which, we notice, was acquired from Statler. The change in Hilton's share of the hotel-room market will be:

City	*Total Rooms*	*Hilton Rooms* (before decree)	*Hilton Rooms* (after decree)
New York	131,680	8,517	7,417 or 6,327*
Washington	19,350	1,850	850
St. Louis	14,220	1,500	650
Los Angeles	29,400	2,170	1,770

*Depending on whether Hilton sells the Roosevelt or the New Yorker

We are especially puzzled by the change in New York. With 6.5 per cent of the total, we gather Hilton is able to restrain trade; but with 5.6 per cent or 4 per cent, he cannot.

We await, anxiously, word from Judge Barnes as to how the Justice Department arrived at the crucial figure.

Congress Faces Electoral Reform

An outstanding scholar of American constitutional history explains the proposals now before Congress for a constitutional amendment to correct inequities in our method of choosing a chief executive

LUCIUS WILMERDING, JR.

Congress, it would appear, is about to consider once more the various proposals which have been made in recent years to reform the mode of electing a President of the United States. These proposals have a common object, namely, to get rid of the present general ticket system under which the candidate who polls the greatest number of popular votes in any state obtains the whole number of that state's electoral votes. They differ, however, as to method.

Senator Langer would abolish the electoral voting system altogether and have the President chosen by a nation-wide plebiscite. Senator Daniel would keep the electoral voting system but would divide the whole number of each state's electoral votes among the several candidates according to the principles of proportion: a candidate who polled a fraction of the state's popular vote would receive the same fraction of its electoral vote. Senator Mundt would also keep the electoral voting system but would divide the whole number of each state's electoral votes according to the principles of the single-member district system: each congressional district would cast one electoral vote for President; the two electoral votes in each state unaccounted for by this method would be cast by the state as a whole.

All these proposals have been introduced in the present Congress in the form of joint resolutions to amend the Constitution. One of them, the Daniel amendment, is expected soon to be reported favorably by the Senate Judiciary Committee. Another, the Mundt amendment, will probably be offered as a substitute for the Daniel amendment on the floor of the Senate. It is therefore of the highest importance that they be correctly understood and that their probable consequences be carefully assessed. I propose in this article to undertake the investigation. But first a word or two about the existing system. Does it really require change?

The General Ticket System

The general ticket system is a device for concentrating the electoral suffrages of each state upon a single person. Under that system every voter in each state votes for every elector to which his state is entitled. Since a plurality is sufficient to elect, it follows almost automatically that the political party with the greatest number of popular votes secures the appointment of its entire slate of electors and consequently secures the whole of the state's electoral votes for its Presidential candidate.

To understand the main ground upon which this system has been opposed we must compare it with the single-member district system, the mode of election familiar to us in the choice of representatives. The district system, in its purest form, would divide each state into as many districts of equal population as would equal the number of electoral votes to which the state might be entitled in Congress. Each district would cast one electoral vote for President according to the sense of its own interest and not according to the sense of majorities brought from other sections of the state to overwhelm it. New York has 45 electoral votes; under the district system these would be allotted to 45 masses of people of 300,000 souls each; if 23 masses voted Democratic and 22 masses Republican, the Democrats would count 23 electoral votes and the Republicans 22. But what happens under the general ticket system? The Democrats count 45 votes and the Republicans none, the minority of 22 being added to the majority. Can this be fair? A comment by Senator Benton of Missouri made in 1824 suggests the answer:

> To lose their votes is the fate of all minorities, and it is their duty to submit; but this is not a case of votes lost, but of votes taken away, added to those of the majority, and given to a person to whom the minority is opposed.

The general ticket system, it is worth observing, cannot claim the sanction of the Founding Fathers. Nothing in the Constitution suggests that the states were expected to cast a consolidated electoral vote. As Senator Benton remarked:

> The Constitution . . . in giving to each elector a separate vote, instead of giving to each state a consolidated vote composed of all its electoral suffrages, clearly intended that each mass of persons entitled to one elector should have the right of giving one vote according to their own sense of their own interest.

Representative McDuffie of South Carolina, speaking to the same point at a time when many of the members of the Federal Convention were still alive, went even further:

> I believe I may safely assert that, at the time the Constitution was framed, the general ticket system, by which the whole population of a state gives an aggregate vote, either for Representatives or other public agents, was unknown in the political history of the world. I call upon gentlemen, if any such example existed, to produce it. It is an invention of after times, the mere offspring of temporary expediency, and never entered into the conception of the Convention. By adverting to the proceedings of that body it will be seen that all the propositions inviting a specification of the mode of choosing Electors and members of Congress, contained a provision for dividing the states into districts. The mode of choosing was finally left to

the state legislatures that they might regulate the details of the election; but in the confidence that they would adopt the only plan of popular election which had ever existed.

However this may be, we have the probative testimony of James Madison that the district mode of choosing electors "was mostly, if not exclusively, in view when the Constitution was framed and adopted."

How then does it happen that the 48 state legislatures, empowered by the Constitution to direct the manner in which their respective states shall appoint electors, have all come to the general ticket system? In changing from one rule to another did they inquire which is intrinsically the best mode of choosing electors? Or did they ask what is the best defensive expedient to counteract the regulations of other states and secure the utmost relative weight in the Union?

History gives an answer. As state after state adopted the general ticket system, they did so with apologies and explanations. It was "the only expedient for baffling the policy of the particular states which had set the example." And so indeed it was. In the celebrated contest of 1800 the Massachusetts legislature took the power of appointing electors away from the people in districts and directed it to be exercised by themselves; their object was to impress for Adams whatever electoral votes the people, voting in districts, might have given to Jefferson. The Virginia legislature was quick to react. Not daring to deprive their constituents of the franchise, they took a middle course and changed from the district to the general ticket system; their object was to impress for Jefferson whatever electoral votes the people, voting in districts, might have given for Adams. Jefferson's own apology tells the story:

"All agree that an election by districts would be best, if it could be general; but while ten states choose, either by their legislatures or by a general ticket, it is folly and worse than folly for the other six not to do it." The general ticket system is a forced choice, not a free one. That is why it can be got rid of only by a constitutional amendment.

The objection to the general ticket system which I have outlined above goes to the question of principle: It is a departure from the intention of the Constitution and a violation of the rights of minorities. It has other evils also. It puts a premium on fraud: a manufactured majority in a single state can result in a swing of as many as 90 electoral votes. It puts a premium on accident: stormy weather may keep rural voters from the polls; local issues may bring out voters in some particular districts in unusual numbers; any of the thousand casualties of political fortune may determine the column in which a state's electoral vote will be found. It exaggerates beyond all reason the political bargaining power of splinter parties and special interest groups in pivotal states: it is all too likely that to gain New York the major parties will promise rewards to well organized minorities, rewards which are not always in the public interest. It makes the choice of candidates depend upon the idea of "availability": in a political convention the inquiry is never who could carry the country as a whole but who could carry New York, Pennsylvania and California, the large doubtful states. It discourages individual political activity in the sure states: in the solid South a very considerable number of electoral votes are controlled by a very few persons; the great mass of the qualified voters are content to exercise their suffrages, so to speak, by proxy; few Republicans bother to vote, for they know votes will be lost; nor do many Democrats go to the polls, for they know that their votes are not needed. I might go on; but probably I have said enough to explain why it is that so many proposals for reform have been made and why it is that some reform is needed.

Plebiscite Voting

Senator Langer's plan is the easiest to understand. He would simply abolish the whole system of electoral voting and commit the choice of the President to the citizens in the nation at large who are permitted by the Constitution to vote for members of the House of Representatives.

This plan is consonant to the ideas of the Founding Fathers, who, it should be clearly understood, favored a choice of the President by the people at large and considered the system of electoral voting as equivalent to it. Nevertheless, its adoption would bring into view certain difficulties — difficulties known to the Founding Fathers and thought by them to have been obviated by the device of electoral voting.

The persons entitled to vote for members of the House of Representatives are defined in the Constitution as those who, in each state, "shall have the qualifications requisite for

To lose their votes is the fate of all minorities, and it is their duty to submit; but this [the general ticket system] is not a case of votes lost, but of votes taken away, added to those of the majority, and given to a person to whom the minority is opposed.

Senator Benton of Missouri, 1824

electors of the most numerous branch of the state legislature." And who determines these qualifications? The state legislature; Congress has no power in the premises. It follows almost of necessity that there must be a disproportion of qualified voters in the several states. In a nation-wide popular election disadvantages would be thrown upon states with the highest voting qualifications; an unseemly competition would arise between the states to increase their relative weights by extending the franchise—let us say by lowering the voting age to eighteen, to sixteen, to fourteen. Such a competition could be arrested only by a constitutional amendment giving to Congress the power of fixing the qualifications of those who vote for the President; but this in turn would give rise to many new problems. Not only would it be difficult to form any uniform rule of qualifications for all the states, but it would be very hard and disagreeable for the same persons at the same time to vote for representatives in the state legislatures and in Congress and to be excluded from a vote for the President.

It is needless, however, to pursue this investigation. The Langer amendment has little chance of passing the Senate and none at all of being adopted by the states. The electoral voting system, it must be remembered, gives an advantage to the small states as against the large. New York, with 43 times as many Representatives in

Congress as Delaware, has only 15 times as many electoral votes. Unfair as this distribution of electoral votes may appear, it seems here to stay. If this be so, any discussion of plebiscite voting in general, or of the Langer amendment in particular, must be largely academic.

Proportional Voting

There is nothing academic about the Daniel amendment. Introduced January 26, 1955, by Senator Daniel for himself and nineteen other Senators —Humphrey, Wiley, Dirksen, Kefauver, McClellan, Jenner, Ives, Anderson, Chavez, Neeley, Murray, Mansfield, Sparkman, Stennis, Hill, Williams, Neuberger, Byrd and Gore—it is supported or at least countenanced by men of widely divergent political views.

Senator Daniel's idea is simple. It can best be made clear by an example. New York has 45 electoral votes. Under the general ticket system the Presidential candidate who polls the greatest number of popular votes in New York gets all 45 of these electoral votes. Under the proportional voting system — the Daniel plan — each candidate who polled a fraction of the state's popular votes would get the same fraction of its electoral votes. Let it be supposed that A polls four ninths of New York's popular vote, B three ninths, and C two ninths; A, B and C would be credited with 20, 15 and 10 electoral votes respectively.

The merits of the proportional voting system seem, at first blush, pretty obvious. The plurality winner in each state would no longer be able to seize and count as his own the electoral votes which justly belong to his competitors. Accidents and frauds in particular states could no longer bring about swings from one candidate to another of from 6 to 90 electoral votes. In "doubtful" states the political bargaining power of minority groups would be no more than proportional to their weight. In "sure" states the qualified voters of every political party would have an inducement to go to the polls.

Nevertheless, the proposal has some serious practical disadvantages. We can readily see what they are by applying the formula of the Daniel amendment to the Presidential elections which have been held since the Civil War. In at least three cases the results would have been different from what they actually were. In 1880 Hancock would have beaten Garfield; in 1886 Cleveland would have beaten Harrison; and in 1896 Bryan would have beaten McKinley. In each of these three cases a Democratic President would have been elected contemporaneously with a Republican House of Representatives. Whatever the faults of the general ticket system may be, it has never brought about this particular difficulty; an apparent exception, the Hayes-Tilden election of 1876, was so tainted by fraud that we must leave it altogether out of account.

The application of the Daniel formula to the election of 1900 will reveal another practical defect of the proportional voting system. In this election McKinley would have beaten Bryan by only one tenth of an electoral vote. It follows that this election would have been disputed, and, what is more, it would have been disputed in every state, in every county, in every election district; for, on the principle of ratios, a gain anywhere would have been a gain everywhere. I think that disputed elections will occur more often under the proportional voting system than under any other which has been proposed. I am certain that, when they occur, they will be more difficult to resolve.

So far I have been considering the practical disadvantages of the proportional voting system. I would also oppose it on principle. I think it is bottomed on an idea which it would be dangerous to introduce into our institutions. I mean, the idea which goes by the name of P.R. — proportional representation. On this point I would be clearly understood. I am not afraid that the adoption of the Daniel amendment would immediately bring about a proliferation of political parties on the French model. If the Daniel amendment multiples splinter parties, it will be more because of the abolition of the intermediate electors than because of the introduction of the proportional principle. I hardly think that the mere opportunity to cast an electoral vote for a candidate who is beaten in advance will prevent a splinter party from withering and dying in the ordinary course. I am afraid that, if the system of proportional voting is applied to a state's representation in the electoral college or, what is the same thing, to the distribution of its electoral votes, it will presently be applied to its representation in Congress.

I need not explain why I oppose P.R. for Congress. On this point the advocates of the Daniel amendment profess a distaste for proportional representation fully equal to my own. I must note, however, that their professions do not square with their arguments. In combatting the ideas of those who suggest a different remedy to their own for the evils of the general ticket system, they accept in effect the fundamental proposition of P.R. Every reason which they give for preferring the proportional voting system to the district system of choosing a President applies even more forcefully to the mode of choosing representatives.

The district system, they say, is bad because it refuses representation in the electoral vote to scattered minorities; unless a minority party can carry a district, its popular votes are lost. The district system, they say, is bad, because the Republicans and Democrats in a state may be so distributed, by chance or by legislative skulduggery, that the ratio of Republican electoral votes to Democratic electoral votes may be greater or less than the ratio of Republican popular votes to Democratic popular votes. The facts are so. But if the results are wrong as to the President, they are worse as to the Congress. The Presidency is a single prize, and it makes no real difference whether a party wins or loses it by a greater or a lesser margin; but the House of Representatives is a multiple prize and the gain or loss of a seat is of high consequence.

The plain truth is that the advocates of proportional voting deny the premise upon which the district system is founded. That premise is briefly

History Revised

President of the United States
1897 - 1901

WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN

(Bryan would have been elected if the U.S. had had a proportional voting system as advocated in Senator Daniel's present plan)

this: that each equal mass of persons, comprising voters and non-voters alike, is entitled through its qualified voters, to choose one representative in Congress and to cast one electoral vote for President. The proportional voting system is grounded on the idea that equal masses of persons have, as such, no rights at all. The Republican voters in each mass are entitled to associate themselves with the Republican voters in every other mass; and so with the Democratic, the Socialist, the Communist voters; the non-voters are wholly left out of account. The political contest is not referred to the sense of district pluralities but is determined solely by ratios of voters calculated on a state-wide base.

It would appear, then, that the supporters of the Daniel amendment are looking two ways at once. They admit the right of a Republican district to choose a Republican member of Congress; they deny its right to cast a Republican vote for President. But what is the logic of this? If a Republican district, in order to satisfy the requirements of proportional voting, can rightfully be compelled to surrender its electoral vote to the Democrats, the Socialists, or the Communists, why should it not also be compelled to surrender its representation in Congress?

District Voting

Senator Mundt's proposal for reforming the mode of choosing a President of the United States is very different from Senator Daniel's. His idea is to tie the mode of choosing Presidential electors to the mode of choosing representatives and senators. Since, in each state, representatives are commonly chosen by the people in single-member districts while senators are chosen by the people at large, this means in effect that, in every Presidential year, the people of each congressional district would cast one vote for President; the people in each state would cast two votes.

In New York there are 43 congressional districts; a candidate carrying 22 of these would receive 22 electoral votes, his opponents 21; the two remaining electoral votes, representing New York's two senators would go to whichever candidate received the majority of the state-wide popular votes.

This proposal, if it worked as Senator Mundt thinks it would work, would meet most of the objections which have been made to the general ticket system fully as well as the proportional voting system. It would also have some practical advantages over the proportional voting system. It would be less likely than the latter to result in a split election, an election in which one party gains the Presidency and the other the House of Representatives. We cannot say that, under the Mundt plan, a split election would be impossible. The 96 electoral votes cast by the states without reference to their relative populations might be so distributed as to defeat a candidate who had won a majority of the 435 district votes. But these 435 district votes for President would, under the district system, generally be in one-to-one correspondence with the 435 district votes for representatives. Under the proportional voting system they would not. The active districts would produce more electoral votes than the passive districts.

Advantage and Defect

The Mundt amendment would have the additional advantage of introducing no new and dangerous principle into our institutions. The principle of the single-member district system is familiar to us in the choice of representatives. Senator Mundt is only proposing to extend this principle to the choosing of Presidential electors or, what comes to the same thing, to the casting of electoral votes.

Having said all this, I must nevertheless point out that the Mundt amendment is in one respect defective. The arguments in favor of it are all based on the assumption that a state's representatives in Congress will be elected on the single-member district system. If we read the Constitution, however, we shall find that it prescribes no uniform or fixed mode of choosing representatives. It gives the 48 state legislatures almost as much power to regulate the election of representatives as to control the appointment of electors. They cannot, to be sure, take the election of representatives away from the people, but they can require the elections to be by general ticket, by multi-member districts, by proportional representation, or by any combination of methods.

I suggest that, if the Mundt amendment were to be adopted in its present form, the political managers in each state might be tempted to change the mode of electing representatives from the district system to the general ticket system. A few states now choose all their representatives at large. In 1931 the legislature of Pennsylvania, in a curious and back-handed manner, attempted to foist the general ticket system of electing representatives upon that state. In 1932 Virginia did in fact elect all her representatives at large. Once started, a trend toward the general ticket system would be hard to reverse. Each state which adopted it would find its excuse in the wicked policy of its neighbors.

It would appear then that the Mundt amendment, taken by itself, might, instead of establishing a uniform mode of electing a President by districts, begin by establishing a variety of discordant and mutable modes, and end by estabishing a uniform mode of electing by general ticket. Only Congress could prevent such a result. Since it has, under the Constitution, an original and concurrent power to make and alter the state regulations respecting the election of representatives, it could by law require the states to use the single-member district system. But who can tell whether Congress, in the event, would or would not pass such a law?

What to Do

It is time now to set out our conclusions. The problem to be solved is simply this: how can we most nearly ascertain the relative acceptability to the people of the United States of the several candidates for President? We are forced to rule out the idea of a nation-wide popular vote since a constitutional amendment establishing such a mode has no chance of passage. Accepting then the continuance of the electoral voting system, we must ask whether those electoral votes should be distributed among the several candidates on the general ticket system, the proportional voting system, or the district system. That the general ticket system should be abandoned, if any

proper substitute can be found, seems to be generally admitted. The question really boils down to the relative merits of the proportional voting system and the district system.

On the grounds of fairness I prefer the district system. The district system is based upon the principle of equal masses, equal votes; the proportional voting system, within each separate state, gives unequal weights to equal masses; districts in which the vote is heavy count for more than districts in which the vote is light. On the grounds of expediency I prefer the district system. It is less likely than the proportional system to result in a disputed election or in the election of a President and House of Representatives of different political parties. On the grounds of principle I prefer the district system because it would not introduce into our institutions the principle of P.R.

It only remains to say how such a system could best be established. One way would be to adopt the Mundt amendment along with an amendment or a statute establishing the single-member district system of choosing representatives. Another way would be to adopt an amendment like that introduced in the present Congress by Senator Smith of New Jersey.

The Smith Plan

The Smith amendment differs from the Mundt amendment in method rather than intent. It proposes that, for the purpose of choosing a President and Vice President, each state shall be divided by its legislature into as many districts as will equal the number of representatives to which the state may be entitled in Congress. The people of each district are to elect one elector; the people of each state are to elect two electors. To prevent the dominant majority in any state from excluding the minority from its just share of power by an artificial arrangement of districts, the Smith amendment addresses an injunction to the state legislatures: each district is to be composed of compact and contiguous territory and to contain, as nearly as practicable, the same number of inhabitants as every other district. As a final protection against gerrymandering, the Smith amendment gives to Congress the same original and concurrent power to make or alter the state regulations respecting the election of electors that it now has with respect to the election of representatives.

The Smith amendment is superior to the Mundt amendment on at least two counts. In the first place, it would introduce into the mode of electing a President the two elements of stability and uniformity; it would exclude the disturbing influence of both the general and the state governments. The Mundt amendment would leave it in the power of every state legislature and in the power of Congress virtually to change the mode of electing the President by changing the mode of electing representatives.

In the second place, the Smith amendment would encourage the state legislatures to prescribe a uniform mode of voting by districts for representatives. The existence of electoral districts equal in number to the number of representatives would suggest and facilitate their use as congressional districts. The Mundt amendment would give countenance to those states which now choose some or all of their representatives at large and encourage other states to follow their example.

The Smith amendment has also one great practical merit. It affords a ground of accommodation to the supporters of the Daniel amendment and the supporters of the Mundt amendment. The former, for reasons which we need not go into, have laid more emphasis on their subsidiary proposal to abolish the intermediate electors than on their main proposal to distribute the electoral votes on the principles of proportion. The latter, though they would retain the electors, have been more concerned to draw a sharp contrast between proportional and district voting. Now the Smith amendment could be worked in a satisfactory manner with or without electors. If therefore the supporters of the Daniel amendment could be persuaded to accept district instead of proportional voting and if the supporters of the Mundt amendment could be persuaded to give up the intermediate electors, a compromise might be arranged. It would only be necessary to change the Smith amendment in such a way as to permit the people in each district and in each state to cast their electoral votes for President directly instead of through an agent.

So much for what to do. Whether anything at all will be done must remain a matter for conjecture. The general ticket system enables the majority in each state to impress the minority into its service, puts it into the power of a few to govern the election, and enables the populous states to consolidate their votes and overwhelm the small ones. From the point of view of popular rights it seems plain that this system should be swept away; the President should be in fact, as he is in theory, the choice of the people. Who can say, however, whether the ruling politicians in the large states can be persuaded to offer up, on the altar of their common country, powers which, though neither consistent with the rights of the people, the purity of the government or the harmony of the Union, serve so mightily to increase their own weight and consequence?

In this article I have assumed the possibility of change. My purpose in writing it has been a simple one. It is to enable the general reader to obtain such an insight into the principles which underlie the existing electoral system on the one side, and the plans which have been considered by the Senate Judiciary Committee on the other, as will enable him to estimate at its true value any scheme of electoral reform which the Congress may at this session be called upon to discuss.

Constitution of the U.S.

Article XII: Manner of Choosing President and Vice President

The electors shall meet in their respective states, and vote by ballot for President . . . and they shall make distinct lists of all persons voted for . . . and of the number of votes for each . . . which lists they shall sign and certify, and transmit, sealed . . . to the President of the Senate; the President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and the House of Representatives, open all the certificates and the votes shall then be counted — The person having the greatest number of votes for President shall be President . . .

Foreign Trends . . . w.s.

One question the President has apparently never asked himself is this: Why shouldn't the Formosa regime, once we have shattered its hopes for a return to the mainland, make a deal with Mao? Just because we, the U.S., can admittedly no longer defend our western flank once Formosa is gone? But why should the Formosa crowd, whom we have egotistically told that we will secure them only to the extent that our interests are involved, abide by our interests beyond their personal advantage? On the contrary, doesn't our openly stated dependence on the Formosan anchor constitute, to any frustrated Formosa politician, a most desirable position for bargaining with the mainland?

This is the type of brooding the President, we repeat, has most probably never engaged in. He remains one of the most baffling paradoxes of all modern history — the professional soldier who so abhors power that he doesn't even begin to comprehend it. But the rest of the world, alas, is much less pure of heart. Also, the rest of the world considers power (and its corollaries, such as deals, bargains, purchases of land and men, bribes, corruption—foreign policies, in other words) as a prime fact of national life. Consequently, the rest of the world is excitedly discussing the question of a deal between Formosa and the Chinese mainland.

Britain and France, two old hands at considering the raw facts of international life, are particularly anxious to establish the score of the alleged negotiations between Formosa and Peiping. And some of this alert discussion occasionally even breaks into print. The Parisian magazine *France Observateur,* for instance, has recently published a Geneva dispatch about Formosa-Peiping intrigues which, or so experts insist, came straight from the Quai d'Orsay. Here is the gist of the dispatch:

Macao and Hong Kong are the points of contact between the Formosa crowd and the Peiping regime. In Macao particularly, a rich merchant by the name of Ho Yin acts as intermediary and host for such negotiations. Two Chinese professors, Chang and Lin, assist Ho Yin whose relations with Mao are famously good. The contact man with Formosa is General Li Tsoung-Yen, currently residing in the U.S. But the true Formosa sponsor of these secret negotiations is no less a person than Chiang's son, Chiang Ching-Kuo, who has studied in Moscow and has retained many a friendship from those days. One of his best friends, ever since, has been Sun Ho, the son of Sun Yat-Sen. These two relatively young men, high up in the two regimes without having to shoulder responsibility for things past, are discussing a deal in earnest, secretly.

Thus, the *France Observateur* story. It gives, of course, no sources; and we are not at all inclined to believe it. But the point is that some such negotiations might be taking place. Taking for granted human nature in general, and the nature of Chinese politicians in particular, we can certainly conceive of embittered Formosa officers who would prefer a deal with Mao to the humiliating subservience to a U.S. which has reneged on the reinstallation of the Nationalists on the Chinese mainland.

And the point is, furthermore, that a U.S. foreign policy which is not prepared for such a tragic development is strictly for boy scouts.

A British Reaction to the Washington Conference

EDEN *(suddenly, after a long pause): "Darling!"*
EISENHOWER: *"Yes, Darling?"*
EDEN: *"Nothing, Darling. Only Darling, Darling!"*

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The Liberal Line...

WILLMOORE KENDALL

The Liberal propaganda machine, as we have noted before, trades heavily in infallibility. It was never wrong about anything in the past, and can prove it. And it will stand ready to prove tomorrow that it hasn't been wrong about anything today.

Not, of course, that it never commits a blooper; it does now and then, and even owns up to it. But its bloopers are a) always on the level of mere vulgar fact, not interpretation, b) invariably due to the machine's having been misled by some hitherto utterly reliable source, and c) of such character that — especially given the machine's virtual monopoly of the means of communication — they can be smoothed over so quickly that nobody notices their having happened.

So, at least, goes the machine's picture of itself. And, until recently, it *was* that infallible; so that this columnist's proudest boast is not that he ever denied its infallibility, but rather that he conceded it — with this small reservation: No machine can keep on being infallible; sooner or later its luck must run out, and then it will cease to be infallible. Or, to put this a little differently, the Liberal machine does not know how to deal with any situation other than one in which it cannot lose a trick; and no such situation can last forever.

To Be Infallible

I mean it: Time was, especially as regards domestic politics, when the Alsops had only to report that something they wanted to be true *was* true, and forthwith it *became* true. Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Truman, when they had the bureaucracy with them, always won; and the bureaucracy, whom the Alsops understand better because its members are better educated, always won in any case; and for a long time it seemed that Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Truman or their equivalent would be there forever and ever, to keep *on* winning. And, though there were indeed those black moments when a few people thought Mr. Eisenhower would, as regards foreign policy, be different from Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Truman, the machine up and said he wouldn't be — and *that* became true. The Liberals always won, and valid statements about political reality were merely different ways of saying that they always would. And everyone who was able and anxious to make such statements was infallible.

The Liberals' luck ran out, as this column has said all along, with the President's heart attack, since which most everything the machine touches turns somehow into a mistake (there are the brilliant exceptions, of course, e.g., its gas bill veto) — and, worse still, a mistake for which it has no one to blame but itself. Nobody *forced* it to hail that Supreme Court decision on desegregation as the death knell of segregated schools in the South. Nobody *forced* it to overcommit itself on Eisenhower at the time of the Geneva conference, so that subsequently it had to go easy on him and everyone close to him. Nobody *forced* it to assume that its favorite candidate for the Democratic nomination for the Presidency would go along with its extreme stand on the segregation issue. It merely stuck to its three basic convictions, namely: that levelling (of which desegregation is merely a special instance) is a good thing so that the more we have of it the better, that all levellers are nice people, and that all nice people are levellers. So the machine merely stuck by these convictions, and adopted positions dictated by them. Instead of winning all the tricks, however, it suddenly found itself losing all of them.

Make no mistake about it: By first adopting and then overplaying an extremist position on the segregation issue, the machine has itself precipitated the imminent rift in its favorite party — and has itself brought about the state of affairs that Nixon is these days exploiting to the full, namely: where by making the noises the Liberals like for people to make he cuts the Liberals off from the kind of attack they would like to make on him. Make no mistake, either, about this: the machine can't back down now on the segregation issue; it can't *not* back down on it without strengthening Nixon's chances to be either President or heir apparent; and the more it presses forward on it, as the case of Miss Lucy has it doing, the deeper it digs itself into a hole that only Eisenhower can get it out of, and he only by a) running, b) winning, and c) completing his second term.

This is the kind of thing that tries men's souls, and ends people up doing desperate things and thinking they can get by with them. As witness these two excerpts from recent high-level machine output:

Canard

The Alsops: Feb. 15, 1956:

"Already President Eisenhower has been strongly urged to drop Nixon and replace him with Herter, if the President runs again. One urger was Cliff Roberts, banker and golf-playing friend of the President's. . . . Roberts had a lengthy report on Herter's qualifications prepared. . . .On the basis of this report Roberts tried to persuade the President that Herter was better qualified for second place than Nixon. The President was noncommittal. But . . . he thought about the matter seriously."

One urger, mind you — the implication being that the Brothers Alsop could name some other urgers if there were any reason to. And they know not only what the urger urged, but what kind of documentation he took with him when he went to do his urging, *and* how the President reacted.

Retraction

The Alsops: Feb. 19, 1956:

"(Note: Information in a recent column about the part played by Mr. Cliff Roberts in the matter of the Republican Vice-Presidential candidate, came from *seemingly reliable informants.* In fairness it should be noted, however, that Mr. Roberts states he has never advocated to President Eisenhower the replacement of Vice-President Nixon by another candidate.)" (Italics mine.)

NATIONAL TRENDS

L. BRENT BOZELL

On the evidence of his veto of the gas bill, Mr. Eisenhower clearly intended to cater to the electorate should he decide to run. But every GOP Senate supporter of the bill is now faced with the task of dispelling doubts about his integrity which have received the official sanction of his Party Leader. Of the 31 Republican Senators who voted for the bill, ten must face their constituents this year; thirteen others will be up for re-election in 1958. Many of them — including those whose accounting must be made two years hence — are saying privately that the Eisenhower-endorsed reflections on their honesty may, at the margin, defeat them.

These Senators, especially those from the states that don't produce gas, stood firm against incredible pressures from the press, labor unions and utility-sponsored "consumer" organizations — believing that the President would sign the bill. They deemed the bill to be sound legislation; they thought removal of federal controls would tend to increase the supply of gas, and thus reduce its price; and they hoped that their inability to communicate this reasoning to their constituents (because of a hostile and defamatory press) would be offset by the support of a very popular President. They had not seriously reckoned with the possibility that Mr. Eisenhower would do the sort of thing that has made him a very popular President.

The *Washington Post* wrote in the lead sentence of its laudatory editorial on the veto: "By vetoing the natural gas bill, President Eisenhower has once more demonstrated his unusual sensitivity to the temperament of the country." Which is another way of saying, "President Eisenhower has once more demonstrated his unusual susceptibility to mob rule by the Liberal press." That Mr. Eisenhower attaches greater significance to what he thinks the Liberal press has the people thinking than to the merits of the matters before him, is frankly conceded by his veto message. The President says that his signature on a bill whose "basic objectives" he supports would "risk creating doubt among the American people concerning the integrity of governmental processes." Thus he concedes either a) that grounds exist for believing the U. S. Senate is corruptly beholden to gas producers (which one must believe he does not really believe), or b) that whether or not such grounds exist, a demagogic press that can *create* doubts about the Senate's integrity will be permitted to block enactment of measures the President believes to be in the national interest.

The gas bill saga may have serious ramifications in a highly indignant Republican Party. Mr. Eisenhower's "betrayal" of Congress (and this is precisely the word being used by GOP Senators) has seriously jeopardized his party's chances to control the next Congress. (Don't overlook the fact that 124 Republican representatives voted for the bill last year, each one of whom will now have to defend himself against broad insinuations of corruption.) The result is that a number of Republicans are beginning to wonder if Mr. Eisenhower is quite the asset to the Republican Party that, all along, they have been saying he is. While they realize he is still their best bet for having a man in the White House with a Republican tag, they are increasingly dubious of the value of *that*. For one thing, Republican ideology does not fare much better under Mr. Eisenhower than under his predecessors. For another, he has shown a remarkable talent for causing *popular* Administration measures to redound to his personal credit; and for getting the blame for *unpopular* measures assigned to Cabinet officers — who, in turn, must be defended primarily by Congressmen. And now, to top it all off, Mr. Eisenhower intimates that his congressional wheelhorses may not be honest men.

In his *Years of Trial and Hope* — published, propitiously, just now — Harry Truman planned to drop an explosive hint as to his preference for the 1956 Democratic nomination. Shrewd journalists, he trusted, would get the tip-off by reading between the lines of his discussion of the 1952 campaign. On Kefauver: "I approved of . . . his investigating committee [on crime], but I did not approve of the methods he used and the way he went about it." Harriman (Lucky Ave), it appears, gets the nod: He was "one of the ablest and most deserving [candidates] . . . but I felt that with his limited experience . . . in campaigning for an elective office, he was somewhat handicapped *at this particular time.*" (Emphasis supplied by shrewd journalist.)

Truman's real block-buster was saved for Adlai Stevenson: the '52 candidate was an estimable fellow (in fact, Harry got him the nomination); but Stevenson made several "mistakes": 1) he gave "the impression that he was seeking to disassociate himself from the Administration in Washington, and perhaps from me [Truman]"; 2) he did not "give proper recognition to existing Democratic organizations" — i.e., machines; 3) "there was little or no coordination" between Stevenson's campaign and Truman's; 4) he "allow[ed] himself to go on the defensive on the question of so-called Communists in government"; and 5) he did not accept Truman's earlier (Jan. 1952) offer of the nomination which would have "enabled us to make the proper build-up." This failure to identify himself with Truman at an early date cost Stevenson "at least three million votes."

Stevenson's "mistake," in a word, was that he refused to run as a Truman candidate on the Truman record. And this (Harry Truman knows that shrewd journalists know that everyone else knows) is *not* the kind of mistake Harry Truman is able to forgive. So: where are the headlines announcing that "Truman Rejects Adlai As '56 Nominee"?

The truth, of course, is that shrewd journalists *and* everyone else got Harry's point; but shrewd journalists and everyone else couldn't care less. Harry Truman longs for the role of king-maker. It would be a kindly gesture for someone to tell him that, even as regards influence in the Democratic Party, he's had it.

Announcing NATIONAL REVIEW'S

PRIZE CONTEST

Pick the Candidates!

To name the candidates for President and Vice President who will be chosen by the two major party conventions

10 Prizes 10

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Contest Rules

1, Any resident of the United States above eighteen years of age may enter (except employees of NATIONAL REVIEW and their families).

2. To enter the contest, each contestant must fill out four official entry blanks (or facsimiles) with predictions as follows:

a) The 1956 Republican nominees for President and Vice President

b) The 1956 Democratic nominees for President and Vice President

c) The number of first ballot votes for the Republican Presidential nominee

d) The number of first ballot votes for the Democratic Presidential nominee

3. Beginning with this issue, NATIONAL REVIEW will publish one entry blank each week for twenty successive weeks. These blanks will be numbered as follows: A1, A2, A3, A4; B1, B2, B3, B4; C1, C2, C3, C4; D1, D2, D3, D4; E1, E2, E3, E4.

4. Each contestant must fill out the four complete blanks of one set (i.e., the "A" set, "B" set, etc.), and must send in all four at one time, in one envelope. Each contestant may send in one entry of each set — five possible entries in all. (It is not necessary to buy NATIONAL REVIEW in order to enter.

You may apply for entry blanks at NATIONAL REVIEW's office at 211 East 37th Street, New York 16, N.Y.; but, to facilitate handling, only one blank can be supplied on each application.)

5. The contest will close on August 1, 1956. All entries must be postmarked not later than 11 P.M. on that date. Winners will be notified on or before September 15, 1956.

6. All entries must be addressed to: "Pick the Candidates!" Room 202, 211 East 37th Street, New York 16, N.Y.

7. The standing of the contestants will be determined by the number of candidates correctly named, with ties decided by the relative accuracy of the first ballot estimates. If ties still remain, tie-breaking questions will be assigned.

8. The editors of NATIONAL REVIEW will act as judges. Their decision on all matters will be final.

9. Entries to this contest will not be accepted from states where prize contests are prohibited by state or local law.

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"Pick the Candidates!" Contest

When properly filled out and submitted together with completed entry blanks A-2, A-3 and A-4, this will constitute an official entry to NATIONAL REVIEW's "Pick the Candidates!" contest, subject to the contest rules. Address your entry to "Pick the Candidates!" Room 202, 211 East 37th St., New York 16, N. Y.

I predict that the 1956 Republican Convention will nominate:
For President of the U.S.

_____

For Vice President of the U.S.

_____

My Name _____

Address _____

City _____ Zone ____ State _____

(The editors of NATIONAL REVIEW request the following information, which is not, however, an entry requirement for the contest.)

I suggest that the following might be interested in NATIONAL REVIEW:

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ Zone ____ State ____

Kefauver: The Political Man

This is the second of two articles on Senator Kefauver's candidacy. The first dealt with his political technique

PETER CRUMPET

The portrait of himself Senator Estes Kefauver presents to his public is, at first glance, as two-dimensional as a paper doll. The slightly comic character in a coonskin cap, whose claim to national fame rested largely on his television rating when he entered the primary race for the Democratic Presidential nomination in 1952, does not appear worthy of serious consideration as a possible occupant of the White House.

But the Senator from Tennessee can not be counted out of this year's primary contests. Although rating far below Stevenson in the public opinion polls, Kefauver has two inborn advantages over him—and over candidate Harriman. He need not explain away a facile brilliance, as Adlai must, nor inherited wealth, as must Honest Ave. Of this year's starters, Kefauver alone has the homespun touch which strikes a ready spark in the average voter, as his 1952 battle of the primaries proved. And Kefauver, the politician, plays the role of the regular guy *fortissimo*.

Magazines, newspapers, gossip and celebrity columns abound with examples of Kefauver folksiness. "He finds time to go roller-skating with the kids, take them for rides on his motor bike or read to them in the evening," *Collier's* told its millions of readers. Another magazine reports that Kefauver kicks off his shoes and puts on slippers the minute he boards a plane. "I'm trying to get used to them gradually," he quips. "Poppsy," is what he calls his 81-year-old father. To the timid dinner partner, Kefauver's opening ploy is a softly drawled: "Now let's talk about you!"

A typical statement—on the whopping 85.4-billion-dollar 1952 budget: "It would stagger the imagination of a mathematical genius—let alone the mind of a simple soul like mine." And again, when a constituent pressed him for his opinion on a certain touchy issue, the Kefauverian response was to pick up a book from his desk and ask: "Have you ever seen these pictures of early automobiles?"

It is through the common-man approach rather than any thoughtful presentation of his political creed that Kefauver hopes to win the nomination. Shrewd but not brilliant, the 53-year-old Tennessee Senator with the tall, sturdy frame and homely features, greying brown hair and ever-ready wide grin, turns even his deficiencies as a natural orator and his often lame and inconclusive answers to a pointed question into political assets. He believes that The People to whom his every action is addressed are leary of brilliance.

Somehow, he puts over the impression of a somewhat inarticulate rugged individualist prepared to take on the party bosses whenever necessary.

But in actual fact, Kefauver's conformism is impressive. During his nine years in the House, he voted with the Democratic leadership 403 times out of 471. In the Senate, he has voted with the Democratic majority approximately 91 per cent of the time. He does not deny his political orthodoxy, but he avoids stressing it whenever possible. Queried once on whether he was a New Dealer and Fair Dealer, he parried: "I do not classify myself on the dealers."

At various times, Kefauver has announced that he is in favor of "Good government, peace, kindness, vision and purity," while generally sidestepping thoughtful discussions on how to bring these goals about. He is also on record as favoring tax cuts, an end to deficit spending and the reduction of the national debt—but he voted against the important Douglas economy proposals in 1952, and, of course, voted across the board for federal aid to practically everything. He has been in the forefront of the battle to extend public power facilities and has consistently opposed trimming pork-barrel projects out of the Rivers and Harbors bills and other congressional appropriations.

The Lesson of '52

The Kefauver of '56, a suaver, smoother, more polished model of the primary candidate of '52, now realizes the importance of toeing the doctrinal line. He learned the lesson the hard way, in 1952, in the whirlwind campaign which started with his stunning victory over Harry Truman in New Hampshire. There, with a single blow, he universalized his prestige as an anti-machine politician—and made a powerful enemy of Truman, admittedly one of the nation's most persistent and vocal haters. As Kefauver swept primary after primary by taking his "case" (meaning his person) to the people, organized opposition to him stiffened. The White House, the party bosses whose noses had been put out of joint by the junior Senator's earlier indiscriminate tilting at crime, were joined by certain labor leaders, presumably because of the Tennessean's vote for the Hobbs Anti-Racketeering Act and the Monroney Bill, designed to subject unions to certain anti-trust law provisions.

By the time Kefauver reached the Convention, his pockets bulging with delegates, he was a dead duck who didn't know it. He was heartbroken by defeat, but he swallowed his pride and, like a good regular, stumped hard for Stevenson.

Kefauver emerged from Convention Hall certain of one thing; that he couldn't afford to be a party maverick on the issues that count with the acknowledged leaders. That knowledge makes him a dangerous rival to other Democratic aspirants this summer. And it helps explain the reasons for, if not the ethics behind, some of his startling doctrinal about-faces.

It is on civil rights that Kefauver's record was weakest until recently, so far as Liberalism is concerned. As

a Southerner and an elected representative from Tennessee, Estes Kefauver opposed the FEPC in May 1952, on the grounds that it was impractical, that "you cannot legislate a change in matters like this." But two months later, he did not hesitate to approve that same FEPC plank in the Party Platform, because "I believe in civil rights."

His position on the Senate filibuster rule was equally ambivalent. In *Twentieth Century Congress,* a book published in 1947 on which he collaborated with New Deal Economist Dr. Jack Levin, Congressman Kefauver attacked the filibuster rule as an undemocratic remnant of an autocratic era. But as a Senator, in 1952, Kefauver helped hold the line against filibuster-rule changes which would have permitted civil rights measures to go through.

The major battle, over desegregation of the Negro schools in the South, was shaping up. And on this issue, Kefauver is demonstrating that he learned the Lesson of '52 well. Of all the Democratic Presidential candidates now in the field, or blushing unseen but not unheard in their particular tents, Kefauver has been the most outspoken in favor of the Supreme Court desegregation decision.

In January of this year, the head of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters endorsed Kefauver as the most appealing Presidential candidate to U.S. Negroes because "he is the only one to come out definitely on civil rights." Early this month, a group of Negro Democratic leaders in California ostentatiously exchanged their Stevenson buttons for Kefauver buttons after a conference with the Senator from Tennessee. The budding politician who had once gone on record against the FEPC, and once voted down an anti-lynching bill, has won his varsity letter on the very issue on which his Liberal record was weakest. And, of course, Kefauver does not have to face his constituents in Tennessee until 1960.

In April 1952, Kefauver threatened that if the Chinese Reds did not "put up or shut up" in the months-old Korean Armistice negotiations, "we should chase them into Manchuria." This was against the Liberal thought of the moment and shortly thereafter Kefauver made his confession of doctrinal error in the *New Republic*:

"In Korea, if he [Eisenhower] is unable to get an honorable settlement without extending the war or abandoning our principles, I would urge that he submit the whole question to the United Nations General Assembly." Such a turnabout Kefauver can accomplish with nary a twinge.

On internal security, the loyalty program and (as was inevitable) McCarthy, the Senator from Tennessee shines forth as an 18-carat defender of Fifth Amendment types. He lashed the Dies and Thomas Committees for using "blunderbuss procedures and smear techniques"; urged the revision of security regulations "to protect federal employes from dismissal without a fair hearing"; and shuddered at the barest taint of McCarthyism. "Guilt by association, the smear technique, forcing conformity in thinking and the use of such tactics is very unhealthy," he wrote. "I abhor all tendencies of McCarthyism."

He crusaded to sustain President Truman's veto of the McCarran anti-subversive act with rare fervor, going so far as to proclaim: "I will vote against this damn bill even if it costs me re-election."

In this instance, Kefauver stood with the minority. Congress overruled the Presidential veto.

A Fellow-Trumaner

In foreign policy, Kefauver has been consistently internationalist. In this one instance, the path of political expediency, approval of the Roosevelt-Truman-Acheson line, fortunately paralleled the path of Kefauver's international inclinations. There is no quarrel the Liberals can pick with Kefauver on this score. The Senator from Tennessee is one of the strongest boosters of the United Nations, of the North Atlantic Treaty Organiza-

tion, of the foreign aid program, of the ideal of Atlantic Union and of all other internationalist package deals to commit the United States to world government.

Kefauver has been particularly outspoken in his sponsorship of Atlantic Union, a proposed federation of the Western democracies which *Newsweek* characterized as "the high-water mark of Clarence Streit's visionary dream for world government." It was he who, with the backing of 27 other Senators, introduced a resolution in the Senate calling on President Truman to invite other NATO nations to a conference for the purpose of drafting a master plan for incorporating the Atlantic Union nations into a federal union on the model of the United Nations.

His major criticism of the Eisenhower-Dulles foreign policy is that it is not sufficiently "internationalist."

Our Useless Constitution

Estes Kefauver understood the great Lesson of '52. Ever since, he has twisted and turned in order to be accounted a "regular guy" by the party President-makers. But they, rather than he, are the dupes.

For behind the folksy Kefauver of legend, behind the obsequious suitor for the highest office of the land, there exists a strong and consistent and confident Kefauver, a Kefauver who has a basic political philosophy, one which accounts for the seeming chaos of his words and actions. Kefauver's deeper ideological motivation seems to be a desire to bring pure majoritarian democracy to the United States.

It becomes clear on reading Kefauver that the separation of powers, the division of authority, the system of checks and balances incorporated in our Constitution, in that they seriously handicap plebiscitary government, are consistently opposed by him —seldom directly, but consistently in effect. Tying the ribbons of history neatly together, he writes in his book, *Twentieth Century Congress*:

> While the people needed a check upon the arbitrary actions of kings and despots, which was the function of the first parliaments, assuredly in a democracy they should not need a check upon themselves.

Further analyzing the structure of our government, Kefauver explains that it bears the mark of men like Alexander Hamilton who did not sufficiently trust the people. But, the Senator rejoices, life is good: history travels the road to democracy, and, through constitutional amendments, "more and more of the powers reserved originally for the few are being transferred to the many."

The Tennessean is determined to give history a hand. He is a leader in the drive to abolish the electoral college; he has urged repeal of the constitutional stipulation that only a third of the Senate go up for election at a time.

"In a democracy," he reasons, "the people are supreme. Their latest action is always the final one, until they act again. It is neither good sense nor good democracy to tie their hands . . . ." There is serious question, when we come down to it, whether the Constitution serves any useful purpose so far as Senator Kefauver is concerned.

Kefauver, moreover, deems it especially urgent that an amendment be passed which would provide for the ratification of treaties through a simple majority vote of both houses of Congress, reversing the "dangerous and undemocratic provision of the Constitution requiring a two-thirds concurrence of the Senate. . . ." True, the Senate is often enlightened. Its ratification of the United Nations Charter, for example, was almost unanimous. But, Kefauver warns:

> There might have been *no* such auspicious beginning if issues such as Lend-Lease, the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, and the British loan had been sent to the Capitol in the form of treaties. Under the two-thirds rule, none of these three [obviously desirable] measures would have passed the Senate. In the years to come, treaties in which this nation will be called upon to participate will be presented in increasing numbers. Treaties growing out of the [United Nations] Charter will be more controversial than the Charter itself.

Kefauver does not approve of Executive agreements, but does not disapprove of their use. So vital and so powerful is our historical momentum toward greater internationalism, he argues, that Presidents of the United States have been "forced to use these devices to *accomplish* the desire of the people"—"because of the well-founded fear of not being able to get two-thirds of the Senate to approve a particular issue."

In position after position, Kefauver underscores his contempt for formal, or legal, or constitutional, or historical, or traditional restraints upon the present and immediate will of the people. For the people, admittedly, are not given to discerning analyses of the issues. Their will, then, must be *interpreted* by men born with a knowledge and understanding of the people's needs and desires. Such a man, says Kefauver, is Estes Kefauver. This is why he does not stress his platform, but rather his person.

The People Are Supreme

It is easy to say, then, that inscribed upon the rock of Kefauver's political philosophy there is one, and only one, motto: "The People are Supreme." The people did not get to be supreme in virtue of the fact that the *individual* is supreme and "the people" is the sum of all individuals; Kefauver has no conception of the individual, only—and then with a touch of mysticism—The People.

In his daily bows before the public, before whom he appears as a man of sympathy and understanding, rather than brilliance, a man whose virtues are many, but not heroic, Kefauver is expressing his deep and sincere belief that the people are, and of right ought to be, supreme.

And the people impose a responsibility on Kefauver. He must interpret their will, for they cannot always know what is best for them. So convinced is Senator Kefauver, for instance, that no matter what they *think they want*, the people want the Roosevelt-Truman-Acheson foreign policy that he tends to attribute President Eisenhower's occasional deviation from it to an ignorance of the desires of the people. The President, Kefauver explains, "doesn't meet any small farmers or workingmen on the golf course."

But the question which will decide the future of the man in the coonskin cap is whether these same farmers and workingmen, secretaries, doctors and brokers—The People, in short—will see fit to elect Estes Kefauver to highest office, from which he must, to the best of his ability, "preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States."

The Uses of Modern Poetry

FRANK S. MEYER

Undoubtedly the most characteristic, if not the gravest, vice of the Liberal mind is the eager monkey-like busyness with which it pries into and tries to organize other people's affairs. But lest we as conservatives look in our own eye too complacently, we ought to recognize that we too have a characteristic vice. Our enemies call it smugness. I should prefer to call it laziness: the spiritual laziness of the servant in the parable, who kept his talent laid up in a napkin.

To know that primary Truth exists, that men have had and have through reason and intuition operating within tradition, many inklings of it and some blinding insights, is something for which to be humbly thankful; but for each man and each generation, this is a beginning, not an end. The multiplex possibilities of human circumstances and of the human consciousness require not new truths, but new ways of approaching and understanding the same eternal Truth. It is here that the parable of the conservative servant applies. To preserve is not enough (although in times like these it is a great deal); it is demanded that the understanding passed on to us by tradition be used, not hoarded, that it be increased in depth and meaning.

I have long thought that the hostile attitude of many conservatives toward the contemporary tradition of American and English poetry — an attitude that identifies its difficulties and obscurities with the general spirit of the age — exhibits a failure to discriminate which arises from this characteristic self-satisfaction. I have been impressed again with this thought in reading two articles that have appeared recently in the quarterlies. Each in its way seems to me to place brilliantly the virtues and limitations of contemporary poetry. The one, by Allen Tate, "Reflections on American Poetry: 1900-1950," was published in the *Sewanee Review* for Winter 1956; the other, by Charles G. Bell, "Modern Poetry and the Pursuit of Sense," in *Diogenes*, No. 10, 1955.

Aside from this article, I know nothing of Mr. Bell except that he is an Assistant Professor of the Humanities at the University of Chicago and a poet; but Mr. Tate speaks not only with the broad authority of a poet and critic of the first excellence, but also as one whose twenty-five-year record in the intellectual Resistance to the dominant trends of modern thought gives him a special authority, to which conservatives at a minimum should pay the tribute of careful attention and consideration.

Implicit in both Mr. Tate's argument and Mr. Bell's is an assumption which I believe to be essential to an understanding of poetry and its place in human endeavor: that it is neither simple enjoyment divorced from other meaning than its own, nor ornament upon the soberer business of life, but an independent and serious mode of understanding. If it does not, in the strict sense, give us knowledge, then at the least, in the words of Eliseo Vivas,

> it ought to be recognized that it is prior in the order of logic to all knowledge, since it is constitutive of culture, which is one of the conditions of knowledge. [For] the girders of culture are seldom formulated by [man] in the abstract way in which theologians, philosophers and scientists discuss them. They are expressed in mythopoetic terms . . . by the artist at a given juncture in history, in terms of the factors of a culture which, when he starts his work, is already a going affair, but which would not survive for long if it did not have the benefit of his renovating ministrations.

It is my contention that the poets of the last generation or two have played in this regard an heroic role, that they have preserved and deepened the true lineaments of the image of man, under the most adverse circumstances and in fierce defiance of the accepted norms of the intellectual milieu. The obscurity with which they are taxed is, for the best of them at least, a necessary outcome of their contingencies. To a small degree it is a smokescreen and a diversionist provocation, to draw off the fire of the enemy, as, for example, in the eccentric typography of E. E. Cummings. But this is minor. The obscurity and the difficulty of their writing stems primarily not from perversity, but from the very virtue of an intransigent insistence upon creating nothing less than that which mirrors reality as personally perceived, despite the accepted manner in which conformity presumes that all right-thinking men must perceive it. This is the point to which Mr. Tate is directing our attention when he says:

> What poets know and how they know it are questions that go beyond the usual scope of criticism, for what a poet of the past knows is viewed historically, not ontologically and we take it for granted. But with a poetry which is near us in time, or contemporaneous, much of the difficulty that appears to be in the language as such, is actually in the unfamiliar focus of feeling, belief, and experience which directs the language from the concealed depths that we must try laboriously to enter.

Style and the Age

Such labor is not without its reward. The gnarled form which so much of the very best writing of our time takes bespeaks the effort to reach truth in circumstances little conducive to that search. More open ages, ages which in their generality respect truth and beauty and the search for them, give nurture to a style which spreads generously, like a single oak or maple alone in an open field; in an age, however, which denies the very existence of truth and beauty, the desperate effort of the poet to recover identity and meaning creates a form with a different grace, the knotted grace of the apple tree, whose every fruiting is a frustration and a new beginning. So also the reader in such an age has himself a harder labor to perform — and, just because insight is so rare in the effusive jungle of mass communications, a commensurate reward.

If he prefers, he may save expendi-

ture of labor and dismiss this poetry as "too obscure for the common man"; he can still be gently titillated by B. B. D. & O. or Norman Corwin. But if he wants the pleasure and the insight contemporary poetry can give him, he must work for it. "This state of affairs," Mr. Tate acidly observes, "is frequently reprehended by the common man, a person of our age who can be either 'educated' or merely arrogant." But there is no way out of it in a society like ours without giving up poetry completely. The "difficulty" is implicit in the situation. Even the poetry of Robert Frost, which is sometimes brought in evidence as an example of simplicity over against the central tradition of Pound, Eliot, Tate, Stevens, Cummings, Auden, is "difficult" in its own way:

> He is just as sophisticated and modern as anybody, and his way of being sophisticated and modern is to pretend in his diction that he is not: he is quite as self-conscious . . . as the late Hart Crane, or Wallace Stevens himself.

I am not—nor, do I believe, is Mr. Tate—making a case for obscurity as a virtue; I would maintain, indeed, that the very greatest poetry, while it too has its share of the obscure (think of *Antony and Cleopatra* or *Measure for Measure*) has a grand public quality. The point is not that the first half of the century has been a poetic age to rival, for example, the Elizabethan, but that, in our circumstances, we are fortunate to have had any poetry of quality, and very fortunate to have had such consistently fine poetry. By contrast, consider the poverty of imagination and values of, say, the philosophers or the statesmen of the same half century.

Alienation from Servility

Actually it is the very state of affairs these latter have created which has forced its peculiar private mode upon the poetry of the time. This has been an era where by and large the man of sensitivity has been forced into a posture of private resistance if he wished to preserve his integrity. And the poet in that posture is the poet we know. The "high contemporary tradition" is, therefore, as Mr. Tate points out,

> not a tradition of the grand style or of the great subject. But it has resisted the strong political pressures which ask the poet to "communicate" to passively conditioned persons what a servile society expects them to feel. . . . The common man in a servile society is everybody; modern society is everywhere servile; everybody must accept the servile destruction of leisure and of the contemplative life if he would live without alienation. . . . The liberal, utopian, "totalitarian" mind assumes that one must give up alienation at any cost. High on the list of costs would be poetry; and if we would sacrifice it, in the illusion that its sacrifice alone would propitiate the powers of darkness, we should forfeit along with it the center of consciousness in which free and disinterested men must live. There are some things from which man, if he is to remain human, must remain permanently alienated. One of these is the idolatry of the means as the end.

If there have been points of light in the murky fog generated through decades of "idolatry of the means as the end," it is the poets who have kept a great many of them burning. And the form their message has taken is that of a Declaration of Alienation from the public compulsions of a servile society. This is both their glory and their limitation—the limitation, again in Mr. Tate's words, of "the aesthetic consciousness aware of its isolation at a moment of time."

As we enter the second half of the century, we are approaching the end, I believe, of this tradition, with this particular glory and this particular limitation. Perhaps it is because the very growth of the all-pervasive monster state and octopus community of the norm has reached the point where it begins to enter the most private recesses, that the very struggle for the preservation of personal identity requires a more public commitment to the vindication of values. Whatever the reason may be, there is every sign in the air that we are at the end of one style and, if we are fortunate, at the birth of a new one. A consistent reading of the literary journals will show that the best poetry is being produced by men in their fifties and sixties and seventies. The younger poets who write in the tradition of Pound and Eliot are many of them good, but not good enough.

A New Poetry?

What can we expect, what kind of thing may come next? Mr. Tate thinks that this is a question that "nobody can know or ought to think that he knows."

Mr. Bell rushes in where angels fear to tread; but his article, concerned very largely with precisely this question, has so many good things in it that he is very convincing, if not as to what the new poetry will be, at least as to what it could be. At the end of a style like the one we have been discussing, as the energy and the justification expire, it can well become, and in many cases has become, what Mr. Bell justly describes as "a last extension of fragmentation and disease." The search for violent image and for relations ever more dissociated, which in its origin had good ground in the revolt against a muddled leveling of thought and value, moves beyond the point of salutary criticism of misused reason to the disavowal of reason itself. But, as Mr. Bell says,

> that a poem transcends its rational content in prose is such a commonplace, not only of our generation but of others, that I doubt if anyone would be found to deny it. But if somewhere in poetry the reason must be abandoned for that leap into the unknown, the radiance, the symbolic and associative light, there must still be some kind of a jumping-off place, and the reason plays a part in getting us there.

Nothing can detract from the value of the great poetry of the half century, of what Mr. Bell calls its "magic of the unservile image." But I tend to agree with him that more than that is now required:

> The creation of a responsible art, as of a responsible freedom, depends on one thing: the regeneration . . . of a belief in man and the organizing universe, a relation of human values to eternal values.

As he is more daring than Mr. Tate would allow, he is, I am afraid, more sanguine than sober consideration of circumstances might warrant, as to the certain birth of such a poetry. But the direction he points is the right one, and his enthusiasm is infectious:

> . . . the spirit of a new poetry is also the spirit of renewed freedom, being the wisdom and will to live affirmatively in the highest drama of mind . . . it may be difficult of access. . . . Its complications, however, will be those of responsible profundity, opening to reason, involving the explicit and affirmative core. Such is the fruit that will appear, and its token and sign will be wholeness.

THE IVORY TOWER

WM. F. BUCKLEY, JR.

Academic Freedom at Iowa State

Several weeks ago, NATIONAL REVIEW launched a research project aimed at determining whether or not "academic freedom"—in the sense of an objective recitation of facts and value alternatives—is being practiced in our institutions of higher learning or whether, as is widely contended, "academic freedom" is serving, here and there, as a cloak behind which indoctrinators in contemporary Liberalism take cover. We have received much relevant data, from students all over the United States. This week, we publish excerpts from an introductory textbook in economics forwarded to us by Mr. William J. Ackerman, a student at Iowa State College.

The text in question is called *Economics: Experience & Analysis.* It is written by Broadus Mitchell, Anatol Murad, Monroe Berkowitz and William C. Bagley, all of Rutgers University, in collaboration with Harold Hutcheson (Virginia Military Institute), Norman Leonard (Ohio Wesleyan), Louise Mitchell (Mills School, Adelphi College), Sidney Simon (Rutgers), and Kingsley Davis (Columbia). The text was published by William Sloane Associates, Inc. (New York) in 1950, and was adopted, the publishers proudly tell us, by "well over" 200 colleges and universities. It is not so widely used these days, the publishers admit, but is still employed (to name a few) by Brooklyn University, Iowa State, Rutgers, Syracuse, University of North Carolina, University of Hawaii, and San Diego.

Herewith some introductory remarks into the field of economics:

A Judgment on the New Deal

The New Deal in its efforts to cure the depression and relieve its miseries made notable advance over previous policy. It recognized that the intervention of government in the economic life of the country, recruiting and applying the national resources, not only was imperative in the emergency but would be required in numerous areas in the future. The New Deal had heart as well as head, and evoked much of its remarkable response because of the quality of human caring in its leaders. . . . Its object, as President Roosevelt himself repeatedly affirmed, was to restore the capitalist system of private enterprise to operation, though shorn of its worst abuses and shortcomings. . . . (p. 131)

Capitalism Defined

. . . The wage system, in which the worker has only his labor to offer and is beholden to the owner or manager of the means of production for the opportunity to support himself, is in fact another name for capitalism. . . . (p. 38)

Individualism Gives Way

We live in a society which traditionally has organized economic activity about the private firm transacting business with the aim of making profit. . . . The hold of this business philosophy on the American people has been loosened of late as the increased strength of labor unions, the growth of social legislation and the proliferation of governmental activities challenge our traditional rugged individualism. Presidential candidates favored by business groups have been defeated at the polls ever since the Great Depression of the thirties shook the faith of the common man in the private-enterprise philosophy. . . . (p. 279)

Individualism vs. Socialism

Individualism, or the principle of the individual's freedom to decide how and where to employ his capital and labor, seemed to Adam Smith and to all supporters of *laissez faire* to be the "simple and obvious system of natural liberty." The system of individualism was the only one that conformed to natural law, and consequently it conformed also to moral law. And individualism was the best way to promote the welfare not only of the individual but of the entire society.

All this the socialists denied. They insisted on centering their attention on the society as a whole. They regarded economic processes as social rather than individual, and argued that therefore society rather than the individual should control and direct these processes. . . . Human reason and intelligence, the socialists insisted, must be used for the good of all men, not for the enrichment of the few and the impoverishment of the many. (p. 167)

The Rich Get Richer . . .

. . . [Adam] Smith was an optimist who believed that *laissez faire* would raise the standard of living of all classes of people. Experience did not justify this optimism. In fact, while the wealth of the owning classes grew rapidly, the poverty of the working classes—the poor, as they were appropriately called—became more obvious and appalling. . . . (p. 155)

Sublimation of Greed

Adam Smith found the formula which made the rule of business palatable and respectable; he put a halo of morality around naked selfishness and greed. . . . (p. 154)

U.S. Attitude Toward Monopoly

. . . One of the most elaborate and alarmed inquiries [into monopolies in the U.S.] was that of the Temporary National Economic Committee beginning in 1938, which was intended to prepare for concerted attacks by the Department of Justice. But before action could ensue, the United States was in World War II and was obliged to rely on the industrial combinations for war production; and therefore prosecutions were few and half-hearted. More and more people acknowledged that competition could not be maintained in certain fields. Their question increasingly was whether the monopoly of private interests should be tolerated or whether government should assume responsibility for production in these areas. (p. 114)

A Judgment on the 80th Congress

. . . Reaction in the Eightieth Congress (1946-48) against emergency governmental intervention expressed itself in the Labor-Management Rel-

ations (Taft-Hartley) Act curtailing the freedom of unions; extension of social security legislation, in benefits and coverage, and further guarantees of civil liberties were neglected. . . . (p. 132)

Piltdown God

. . . To believe that . . . supernatural forces control human life can only inhibit our understanding of our environment and thus delay our best adjustment to it. . . . While [such a belief] . . . barely scratches the surface of human nonsense, it should suffice to illustrate man's inordinate capacity for belief in absurdity and to suggest the extent to which misery and degradation are induced by that capacity. (p. 206)

Synoptic View of Progress

The British development has been gradual over four hundred years. In this long period contribution to social security provision has gone from voluntary to compulsory, from local to national, from mere relief of destitution to combined attack upon the causes of poverty. It has gone from the grudging and negative to the positive and purposeful. . . . (p. 546)

The Glories of Taxation

Economic power that grows out of the concentration of wealth is largely beyond the effective scope of the anti-trust laws. . . . To many the most promising alternative is to reduce the concentration of wealth. To accomplish this, the federal government already has effective tools at hand in the progressive income and inheritance tax laws. . . . High taxes on large incomes can be used to prevent in the future such huge fortunes as were accumulated in the past. Similarly high inheritance taxes, coupled with comparable gift taxes, could prevent the passing of huge estates from generation to generation. The vigorous application of the tax instrument . . . holds much promise for the future. (pp. 359-360)

Goodbye, Free Enterprise, Goodbye

. . . It may be that private enterprise, in the most important sectors of the economy, is waning beyond the point where it can be revived either by assault on monopoly or by direct aid to competition and individual initiative. It may be that profits, instead of accruing to private enterprise, will inure to public enterprise. Developments in Britain and elsewhere following World War II strongly suggest that social planning will progressively supersede the hit-or-miss economy, which has survived longest in this country. That and similar experiments seem to show that public enterprise is surer and more resourceful than private enterprise can be, and that the national and even the international community will arrive at security and progress by no other means. (p. 472)

The Meaning of the Russian Revolution

. . . The revolution of 1917 [in Russia] opened the way to theretofore unguessed exploration, invention, and output; the new capacities in production were devoted to the good of the masses of the people. The changed system gave not only new means but new objects of social effort, such as education, health, recreation, and a generally rising standard of living. . . . (p. 481)

We Owe It to Ourselves!

A debt of the federal government which is held by the citizens of this country is little or no economic burden to the national economy. The debt contract says, in effect, "the citizens of the United States, as taxpayers, owe money to the citizens of the United States, as bondholders." As far as the national economy is concerned, it is merely an accounting trick: the left pocket owes money to the right pocket. . . . (p. 623)

Minus Equals Plus

. . . The end products of public works are not for sale, and hence do not further depress an already overburdened market. On the contrary, they are social assets, additions to the wealth and enjoyment of the community. To be sure, the government has temporarily "gone into debt" to acquire schools, highways, bridges, drainage systems, and the rest. But this does not mean that the society is running behind. The "deficit" is technical, not real. The society is not poorer, but richer. . . . (p. 501)

Only Recourse Against Thrift

. . . The recommendations of John Maynard Keynes, which prominently influenced American economic policy during the depression, put stress on robust consumption as the means of ensuring national income. Private thrift, in the absence of sufficient consumer demand to make investment attractive, had brought us to oversaving and disaster. There must be an offset in spending; if individuals would not and could not spend, then government must spend, running into debt for the purpose. . . . (p. 504)

The Loyalty of the Proletariat

. . . In the 1940 presidential campaign, [John L.] Lewis, over the widest radio hookup ever used by a labor spokesman up to that time, appealed to the CIO members to vote for the Republican candidate . . . But Lewis' union followers in the mass-production industries, while thankful to him for his services to them, were not dissuaded from their loyalty to the New Deal, which had championed the rights and welfare of the common man. . . . (p. 641)

The Pros and Cons of Taft-Hartley

A result was the Labor-Management Relations (Taft-Hartley) Act of 1947, which undertook to correct the alleged labor favoritism of the Wagner Act. . . . Nominally, it amended the National Labor Relations (Wagner) Act of 1935, but really the new law recast and rewrote the old. . . . the law increased the rights and reduced the liabilities of the employers, while weakening the rights and adding to the liabilities of unions. The provisions of the Labor-Management Relations Act, both in scope and in detail, are to be understood by the spirit animating it, which was that of hostility to the effective functioning of unions both as bargaining agents and as a force in the American economy. . . . Unions were to discover that living with the law was like passing over a military terrain that had been mined by the enemy. . . . (pp. 643-644)

The Brave New World

. . . The inquiries of the Temporary National Economic Committee in the late thirties revealing the power of business combinations, posed the problem whether we want planning by and for private interests or by organized society for the public welfare. Public claims, step by step, will surely advance. (p. 841)

ARTS and MANNERS

WILLIAM S. SCHLAMM

The Ponder Heart, a joke in three acts, will beat on Broadway for a considerable time, though subdued and in a rather minor key. Unaccustomed as I am to bringing good news from New York's white light district, I might handle myself a bit awkwardly; and so, mainly to release the critic from the embarrassing state of enthusiasm, I want first to pay my compliments to ***Harvey.***

Now *Harvey* (as the lucky people who absorbed Mary Chase's unforgettable delight many a season ago will recall) was a dramatic love letter to a sweetly guileless person, touched with sublime madness. The divine state of well-being which *Harvey* invariably conveyed to audiences was due to the discovery (so utterly alien to Broadway) that life is worth living. And the sorcery was accomplished by the simple dramatic trick of letting, for a sensational change, a ***happy*** man collide with the world. The result was epochal. It looked, for a whole evening, as if Creation, after all, was not such an imbecilic and criminal idea. The public, fed on a diet of raw beef, was first stunned and then transfigured. And several fortunes were made on the rabbit that wasn't there. Ever since, greedy Broadway producers have been chasing that elusive creature. The Playwrights' Company, producer of ***The Ponder Heart,*** seems at last to have made it: after ten years, the Broadway public can again form a line at the box office to meet a decent man, slightly mad, who is a credit to the race, and happy to boot.

Uncle Daniel Ponder (played by Mr. David Wayne — as always, as though this magnificent actor had at last found *the* role of his life) is, of course, the same Southern gentleman to whom readers of the *New Yorker* were introduced, a couple of years ago, by Miss Eudora Welty. Miss Welty (who couldn't write a tasteless line if her life depended on it) was in a particularly pleasant mood and invented, as if to teach the Tennessee Williamses and William Faulkners a lesson, a Southern microcosm that glows with pleasure. Her *Ponder Heart,* later published as a short novel, tells of a lazy South that is materially just as decrepit as anything Mr. Erskine Caldwell has made his millions on; and yet, it is busy with the pleasures of innocence. In this world, Uncle Daniel Ponder rehabilitates the neighborly code of good manners (and honor in general) with a daffiness which, on any encounter with reality, deflates the "sensible" and humbles the proud. Uncle Daniel Ponder, in short, was even in Miss Welty's artful and very pleasing conception a rather obvious loan from *Harvey* — but a loan, I hasten to add, that was put to work in an effective context with the great literary tradition. Don Quixote, for instance, was somehow in on the party; and Dulcinea, as worthless and vulgar to anybody else as Uncle Ponder's "trial bride," Bonnie Dee Ponder, but precious beyond words to Don Quixote's heart; and a whole bunch of Sancho Panzas.

Now this kind of overtone, I am sorry to report, has been ruthlessly removed by Miss Welty's hired dramatic collaborators, Messrs. Joseph Fields and Jerome Chodorov (who, I understand, are, on top of this, fellow travelers of sorts). Old hands in adapting *New Yorker* whimsicalities to the belly-laugh requirements of Broadway, Fields & Chodorov have dependably diminished literary values wherever they noticed them; but, fortunately, a few such values escaped their vultures' eyes and, hidden behind Miss Welty's shrewdly deceptive writing, an inner light keeps illuminating ***The Ponder Heart.***

It shines not so much through the plot (of which there is hardly enough to hold the gab on the stage) as through the people who act it. They are talkative people, I concede, but rightly and rewardingly so. It is right to let these people talk (rather than do) throughout the play: theirs is a world that distrusts deeds, and likes the moonshine of articulation; even the admitted morons in this Southern microcosm of Miss Welty speak an English that comes straight from the King James Bible and from Elizabethan poetry. And it is rewarding to let them talk: one leaves the show with the civilized satisfaction of having partaken in a conversation — a feeling generally discarded on Broadway where one is either assaulted in the head or kicked in the stomach but never treated to conversation. In *The Ponder Heart,* people still talk with the joy of expressing themselves with the grandeur and all the wit of language. No, I don't remember a single "memorable" wisecrack. But I am under the spell of an evening almost as pleasurable as if it had been spent, at home, with Miss Welty's novel.

The reason I called it a joke in three acts is, simply, that it isn't a play. *The Ponder Heart* could be compared, in this one sense, with Chekhov: nothing moves but lips, and all that happens is that one word leads to another. In short, just a slice of life. The delight with Miss Welty's novel, even in its dramatized version, consists in one's grateful recognition that, once again, the pleasure of meeting an altogether pleasant person has clearly superseded the far more vulgar interest in events. Or, in theatrical reference, that the *dramatis personae* matter far more than the drama.

The drama itself is recapitulated in one sentence: Uncle Daniel Ponder loses his moronic little bride in a lightning storm, is accused of murdering her, and is predictably acquitted in a Wonderlandish trial act. The cast (in addition to the entirely satisfactory Mr. Wayne) includes Miss Una Merkel (who makes Miss Edna Earle Ponder, Uncle Daniel's sister, triumphantly shatter a current Broadway axiom — namely, that females are bitches), Miss Sarah Marshall (who leaves Bonnie Dee Ponder the way she got her from Miss Welty — namely, undercooked) and Mr. Will Geer (who successfully plays the villain — namely, the only "reasonable" person marooned in Uncle Ponder's Wonderland). Mr. Robert Douglas has directed well, i.e., unobtrusively. (And some day, I am afraid, I shall pass sentence on a revolting Broadway character — the "genius" stage director who louses up the play.)

In other words, the unlikely has happened: for the first time since its inception, this column advises its readers to go and see a play.

BOOKS IN REVIEW

Matter of Indifference

JOHN CHAMBERLAIN

By any technical standards Richard Llewellyn has written as bad a novel as is possible in *Mr. Hamish Gleave* (Doubleday and Company, $3.95). The method is totally unsuited to the subject matter, the characters never come clear, the atmosphere is one of obfuscation and phantasmagoria, and the final point of the story is swathed in doubt. Yet the book contains a profound insight into the nature of our day, which qualifies Mr. Llewellyn as a philosopher if not as a novelist. Since success of any kind is rare enough, *Mr. Hamish Gleave* is worth writing about, even if it makes for incredibly difficult reading.

The publicity attached to the novel says that it "takes its inspiration from the Burgess-Maclean case." Whether it does or not is a matter of indifference, but it is true that Mr. Llewellyn has tried to uncover a motive for treason on the part of a British Foreign Office underling. Mr. Hamish Gleave is, so one is asked to believe, a declassed intellectual who resents the fact that he cannot command both influence and millions. His grandfather threw away a fortune, his father nursed a perennial grievance, and his wife Vinnie stewed and fussed about the mortgage and the difficulties of finding good schooling for two sons. All of this produced in Hamish Gleave a tremendous desire for something beyond his station. The essential theme is that of Dickens' *Great Expectations,* but with what a difference in circumstance and emphasis! Where Dickens' characters have bounce and resourcefulness even when they are misled by heart and mind, Hamish Gleave has no resilience, no philosophy, no grip on life at the core of his being. In fact, his treason is so unsurprising that it comes as one of the flattest denouements in modern fiction. In this book a cipher simply does what any cipher might do—and the fact that it involves the betrayal of an empire is, dramatically speaking, merely incidental to the narrative.

Mr. Llewellyn's over-all point may be similar to one made by T. S. Eliot: dry men in dry months cannot be counted on to play any kind of fruitful role. Unfortunately, the creator of Hamish Gleave thinks it necessary to present the story of a cipher in a poetical prose that is continually at odds with the horrifyingly unpoetical theme. The language is far more suitable to larks and nightingales than to the contents of a diplomatic brief case. Though Mr. Llewellyn has a tremendous awareness of everything in nature, he has no awareness whatsoever of things bureaucratical. The story of Hamish Gleave's defection to the Russians cries aloud for acute and carefully precise analytical treatment, but all we get is the oblique approach of modern verse. Strange words abound, and how the mystifying dialogue does run on! On page after page it is virtually impossible to know which character is doing the talking without counting back to see who started it all. But the truly disconcerting thing about the dialogue is that when one has counted back it doesn't seem to make the slightest bit of difference: the sentences would make just as much—or as little—sense if they were spoken by the other person.

If one takes the trouble to penetrate the poetical veil which Mr. Llewellyn throws over everything, one comes upon a frightening plot set in motion by an even more fantastically frightening assumption. It seems that aristocrats in the British Foreign Office must be ripe for treason merely because they resent carrying out policies decided upon by commoners. On the other hand, the more intelligent commoners in the Foreign Office are no better off than the aristocrats, for they cannot be adequately compensated in a land which does not permit anybody to rise very far out of the ruck. Since neither heredity nor ability can lead anywhere in modern Britain, whether in terms of influence or emoluments, who can blame a man for taking it on the lam to Moscow for a fee or a promise of a meaningful future?

Such is the obvious moral of Mr. Llewellyn's story. But the obvious moral is hardly the real one. The true moral would seem to be contained in a rumination on Marxism which occurs quite early in the story. The rumination applies to everyone in England, not merely to the Foreign Office. "Marxism," says Mr. Llewellyn in a bit of interior monologue which is properly ascribable to the author himself, "seemed merely to have twisted the original Christian teaching of Be Better, into Be Better Off. Its followers took advantage of wilted Christianism, and without puerile inhibitions, went about turning Thou Shalt Nots into Thou Art Nots, and forthwith ruled the roost."

Of course, the England which Mr. Llewellyn is writing about is hardly Marxist in the usual connotation, but it might as well be. For the ideal of the subject living in a Compulsory Welfare State is primarily to Be Better Off, regardless of what happens to the concept of Being Better. As Mr. Llewellyn presents the evidence, there is a deep interconnection between a philosophy of State Welfarism and a willingness to turn to treason if and when the opportunity seems materially or psychologically promising. For if Welfarism is the test, there can be no appeal to any particular ideal of patriotism: by definition, that govern-

ment is best which gives its subjects—and its servants—the most for the least amount of effort. If the Russians promise the most, why, then, what's a little treason among friends? It's all for the common material good, isn't it?

What Mr. Llewellyn has succeeded in doing is to write a profound commentary on the heresy of attempting to build a universal religion on a materialist basis. The attempt manifestly doesn't work, for religious peace certainly cannot be arrived at by a continuously applied cultivation of discontent. If one's ideal is to be continually Better Off, there is no end to the process. As Mr. Llewellyn says in another of his philosophical asides, ". . . the seethe remained, of a people stimulated by advertisements of all kinds into wants beyond their private means, by colonial misadventure into debts beyond their national means, by internecine politicking into a flux beyond the means of the best minds among them to restrain, much less to remedy."

This is powerful preachment, but unfortunately the making of preachments and the making of a novel do not necessarily coincide. Throughout the story Mr. Hamish Gleave remains a nebulous man among nebulous creatures. When Hamish asks his mistress Myril why she spied and worked on him, he gets a cruelly direct answer: "Consider. If you could be taken from your family, for a moment, could you not be taken from other things?" True enough in a general sense, but in the past there have been patriots who have had mistresses without feeling a compulsion to walk out on their country. Hamish Gleave's defection is hardly to be accounted for by his sexual nature. Nor is it to be accounted for by his dislike of his superior, or by a mere yearning to live on champagne and caviar. Hamish Gleave simply gives in to a modern trend in philosophy that has low-rated patriotism for at least two generations. He doesn't have any real bottom of his own to rest on, which means that he can be pulled hither and yon by anybody, any time.

The question is: what made him that way? Mr. Llewellyn recurs again and again to Hamish's envious father and his wasteful grandfather, and to the fact that modern England offers little to his sons. But that isn't enough to explain his lack of a center. Nor is the appeal to the modern trend in philosophy enough to account for his fundamental emptiness as a human being. As a novelist Mr. Llewellyn just hasn't put enough into his story to make it humanly plausible. He has been too busy with philosophy and poetics to get around to a fundamental analysis of the wellsprings of human character.

Border Mores for Export

The Struggle for the Border, by Bruce Hutchison. 489 pp. New York: Longmans, Green and Company. $6.00

The famous border between Canada and the United States—"not one of its 3,986.8 miles defended, running from Fundy to Fuca's Strait"—is taken for granted. In fact, all of Canada, with its enormous territory, its effective government, and its complex, dual society, is disconcertingly taken for granted.

Among Canadians, this undramatic assumption of the nation's proper existence might give strength for the defense and development of their country's integrity. But among United States Americans it can lead to blindness and presumption and to waste of a historical opportunity.

On the last page of this book, the author suggests, in addition, that the general incapacity to see Canada and the unique creation of its southern border robs the whole world of a good chance: "The principles, attitudes, and living ways of the boundary, if reproduced elsewhere, could mend far more than the fabric of America."

This long, new book by the exceedingly successful Canadian journalist and much awarded "spare time" historian, Bruce Hutchison, does lead a reader to think, consider and speculate about what Canada and the United States mean to each other. The author, indeed, almost beats one into doing so. It is an onerous book, with the writer over-trying, it seems, to impress upon his readers the importance of the subject and its rightful interest. It ends up easier to admit the importance than the fascination.

The rhetorical devices used to point up the narrative are weary, and cannot substitute for clear formation of thought. In chapter after chapter, and in scene after scene within chapters, Mr. Hutchison adds on a paragraph or two of monotonous "ohing" and "ahing" to push a preconceived emotional reaction to the story already told. Over and over again a brief, palely colored literary recapitulation prods us to review the same Canadian history from Cartier and Champlain down the years and generations to wherever we happen to be. The structure becomes a bit like "The House That Jack Built." Repeated employment of the "had they but known" device common to mystery stories does not add greatly to the suspense and drama of the accomplished history.

The title of the book reflects accurately the main theme running through it. Until most recent decades the border was repeatedly threatened and attacked by a continent-engulfing United States, a politic British Empire, and the normal expectations of history. The struggle lasted, Mr. Hutchison shows, until Canada became sovereign and independent: a practical, self-maintaining nation, assumed as a legitimate, permanent entity by the world in general, and particularly by England, the United States, and the Canadians themselves.

All the stress is on the fight for the border, and the struggle to create a strong enough Canadian nation to hold it. Little is said about the unity of the two countries, which makes the division of the northern continent a peaceful one.

"This book has little to do with any theory of history," the Introduction states, "but is concerned almost solely with individual men and their private adventures upon the North American earth. . . . If the book has any theory at all, it is that from time to time, at certain fluid moments, men, large and small, in wisdom, passion, or mere accident, made North America what it is, hardly suspecting the issue of their lives."

As it works out, that theory proves incapable of creating or sustaining profound drama or interest. They are not really "private" adventures that are recorded. We are not dealing with "the ordinary Joe" going through his humdrum life. But the author tends to stress the psychological motives that he sees as lying behind public and

MacArthur

HIS RENDEZVOUS WITH HISTORY

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mainly political acts, rather than to work at the objective ideas and patterns involved in them. Too much is left in the realm of accident. The author comments on the pragmatism of Canadians, and shows himself to share it to an extreme and self-quenching degree.

In a broader sense, "the issue of their lives" is hardly analyzed or defined, except as a temporal sequence; and few concepts are offered to describe intelligently, and therefore vividly and interestingly, what made "North America what it is." He seems to share a pocketful of prejudices with the general consensus of American Liberal publicists, and this also makes difficulties in distinguishing his writing and subject across the northern horizon.

"A vague but undeniable force called Canadianism, for lack of a better word, bestrides the upper slope of America—inarticulate, puzzled, amorphous, incalculable in its outcome, with no visible limit to its future." That is the modest, ultimate portrait we are left with on page 489.

PHILIP BURNHAM

Belfast in Colorado

The Search for Bridey Murphy, by Morey Bernstein. 256 pp. New York: Doubleday and Company. $3.75

That the twentieth century has suffered a philosophical failure almost without precedent since the sunshine of Hellas ceased to warm is a matter of ordinary observation, for which neither a Cassandra nor a Jeremiah is needed. What we have been through and are not yet out of is an Age of Materialism, whose doctrine has offered neither meat nor drink for the human spirit. Conceiving Man as a machine, it has, at best, offered oil for his bearings. Today, however, there are signs that friction is increasing, and that the oil is getting mighty thin. Perhaps new bearings, and another sort, are needed.

There are stirrings on every side that may, some day, be seen to form a pattern. Among others, there is the emergence of parapsychology from the mire of tea leaves which had smeared for so long serious study of the persisting human tradition of extraordinary psychic manifestations.

In the last couple of years this reviewer has had some fascinating books come across his desk. His conclusion is that there is an impressive weight of documented evidence which suggests that the universe is somewhat more complicated than Epicurus, De La Mettrie or Marx supposed.

The latest in the growing series of such volumes is *The Search for Bridey Murphy* by Morey Bernstein. Mr. Bernstein is an intelligent young businessman of Pueblo, Colorado, whose natural metier is industrial and agricultural supplies and machinery, steel, and securities (he is a bank director). Mysticism plays no part in either his background, education or environment. What he seems to respect, more than anything else, are observed facts. He is almost arrogantly dedicated to belief in what he sees. And he is not afraid to look.

A few years ago he became interested in hypnotism, casually at first, then with the contagious kind of intensity and thoroughness that, as the reader soon comes to see, he brings to everything that captures his intellectual curiosity. He achieved skill as a hypnotist, and worked with local physicians to alleviate certain illnesses. Then some things happened that pushed him along toward contemporary parapsychological research —the study of telepathy, clairvoyance, precognition, psychokinesis, etc. He heard, finally, about experiments designed to probe the whole question of reincarnation — experiments in which the hypnotist, using "age regression techniques," endeavors to take his subject back not only to earliest childhood, which is old stuff in the literature, but, allegedly, to a prior existence. He decided to arrange such an experiment, and took as his subject an uncomplicated, typical young housewife who happened to respond well to hypnosis.

The results, all taken down by tape recorder, were astounding. Ruth Simmons became Bridey Murphy, who was born in Cork in 1798, married a barrister, moved to Belfast, and died at the age of 66. She adduces many details of her life under questioning during six interviews (all with witnesses present). She dances an expert jig, which Ruth Simmons could not do. She talks with a brogue. She seems to know many things which it is almost inconceivable that native-born Ruth Simmons of Pueblo could have known, some of them virtually inaccessible to anyone in this country.

Some of the important factual data to which she refers, the names of obscure places, for example, and those of merchants, songs, books, etc., have, it is claimed, been substantiated by independent investigators in Ireland. Others remain to be verified, and the reader may be puzzled about why there should be a delay over some of the more obvious ones. Publication might well have awaited the obtaining of maximum corroboration.

But the careful reader is likely to put the book down with the conviction that there can have been no fraud here.

Whether Ruth Simmons was indeed Bridey Murphy in a previous incarnation or, another possibility, whether Ruth Simmons is merely a medium for another spirit, are questions that Mr. Bernstein does not raise. Nor does he ask whether the whole business can be explained as a manifestation of an unrevealed but by no means supernatural capacity of the human mind.

Let us be conservative and say no more than this: Horizons are widening; revelations are yet to come; philosophies are forming.

EDWARD CASE

Invitation to Liberals

Night Raider of the Atlantic (The Saga of the German Submarine "The Golden Horseshoe" and her Daring Commander, Otto Kretschmer), by Terence Robertson. Preface by Admiral Sir George Creasy. 254 pp. New York: E. P. Dutton and Company. $4.00

Mr. Robertson has given us (with a few astonishing errors in English) a clear and absorbing account of the career and, what is more important, the character of the man who will probably command the new U-boats —if, indeed, the military and naval power of the surviving part of the Germany that we destroyed ten years ago can be revived in time to defend the civilized world from the rabid savages who were the only victors in the last war. It would appear that Kretschmer belongs to the old German military tradition, and is worthy of the honor that is the true reward of the brave. Should this tribute to the man who sank more Allied shipping than any other commander distress those Liberals whose hysterical adulation of the late Mr. Roosevelt includes endorsement of his unconditional surrender at Yalta, I invite them to look down at their own hands. There is blood on them.

REVILO OLIVER

Cold Comfort

The Pursuit of Happiness: A Philosophy for Modern Living, by R. M. MacIver. 182 pp. New York: Simon and Schuster. $3.00

In this slim volume Professor MacIver sets down his reflections on the meaning and value of life. "Philosophers without portfolio," as Irwin Edman termed them, sometimes write very revealingly about one or two aspects of experience. This can hardly be affirmed, however, of Professor MacIver. Amid a perfect forest of banality and truism there are but a few shoots of original perception. The work as a whole reminds us that a group of random observations does not constitute a philosophy. What he practices, and what he recommends, is a sort of intellectual epicureanism. He thinks that the pursuit of happiness requires philosophizing, yet he does not believe that philosophy can ever arrive at any real truths. The image it evokes for me is that of a man trying to warm his hands before the fire of his own skepticism.

RICHARD M. WEAVER

Polite Thriller

Maria, by Brian Cooper. 220 pp. New York: The Vanguard Press. $3.00

Mr. Cooper's first novel is a brisk but polite British thriller of the Palimpsest School, in which the hero suspects that things are not what they seem, and in each successive chapter deftly shucks off another layer of confused identities and misrepresented events until we finally have the harsh, human truth. *Oedipus Rex* set the pattern, though as his blurb writer justly suggests, Mr. Brian belongs in another class, with Helen MacInness and Ethel Vance.

A young Cambridge scholar falls in love with a pretty girl named Mary, godchild of his old tutor and widow of a German chemist. He marries her. The honeymoon is perfect. Then odd little discrepancies turn up in Mary's references to her past. Is her name really Maria? Why is her sister-in-law out of her mind? Did Husband #1 really die in a motor accident? Uneasily, guiltily, our hero sets off on a clandestine probe of Mary's past.

Two hundred pages later, she emerges little less than a goddess. Her guilty secret is that she saved two dozen Jews from death by SS machine guns and single-handed, miraculously smuggled them out of Germany. Her husband indeed did not die in an accident: he tried to stop her rescue operation, and she shot him, generously concealed her husband's nefariousness from those whom it would hurt, preserving a heroic memory of him instead.

A remarkable girl; and if we refuse to call her improbable, it is for the homely reason that our secret hearts prefer such guardian angels to any other heroine. Can any poet, seer or prophet, even the assurance that the truth shall make us free, ever wholly still the abashed longing within each of us for Someone To Watch Over Us, and Love Us, and Love Us For Our Own Sake, and Never Let Us Know That Which Will Make Us Unhappy?

ROBERT PHELPS

Low Score

Grand Old Party: A Pictorial History of the First 100 Years of the Republican Party, by M. B. Schnapper. 520 pp. Washington, D.C.: Public Affairs Press. $6.00

Although apparently not sponsored by the Republicans, this is clearly a kind of family album of their party, and it would be absurd to complain that it has been edited to show the family at its best. The pictures are all interesting and well chosen, but unfortunately they are reproduced by the cheapest kind of offset printing, which converts many photographs into areas of foggy gray or murky black. The captions and marginal comments probably contain a large number of misstatements of varying degrees of importance, but in my cursory reading I noted only thirty-nine (e.g., the election of Wilson was the Democrats' third victory since 1860, not the second, as stated on p. 346; the battleship shown on p. 380 is not a "heavy dreadnought" but the old *Alabama* or her sister, the *Illinois*).

R.P.O.

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To the Editor

The Hughes Case

. . . the fantastic fraud which Paul Hughes apparently put over on Mr. Joseph Rauh and his motley associates has given me the best laugh in long years. . . .Even granted the standard purblindness of the genus Liberal, how could these gentlemen have failed to boggle at the tale of McCarthy's alleged arsenal of pistols and submachine guns? . . . .

The entire Hughes episode demonstrates the basic dishonesty of the ADA-*Washington Post* gang: while they were publicly prating of the horrors of the Government using "paid informers," they were hiring one themselves. . . .At least their propaganda should be more authentic, now that they have had personal experience of one of the more embarrassing aspects of using paid informers.

Chicago, Ill. GEORGE W. PRICE

"HUGHES CASE" NOT ONLY MANNA FROM HEAVEN BUT SHEER DELIGHT—MOST ESPECIALLY SPARKLING (AND STARTLING—THOUGH GOD KNOWS WHY IT SHOULD BE) EXPOSURE OF COMRADES-IN-ARMS JUNIOR RAUH, FRIENDLY, WIGGINS, TELFORD TAYLOR ET AL SETTING OUT ON THEIR ITTY BITTY OWNSOMES TO DO A MAN'S WORK AND (WHAT ELSE) COLLAPSING FLAT ON THEIR COLLECTIVE PRATS.

PHILIP LIGHTFOOT WORMELEY IV

Washington, D.C.

Liberals Are Wincing

Whether we are merely "talking to ourselves" or being wire-tapped by the Liberals in the modern meaning of the word, NATIONAL REVIEW's hypodermic of Truth is making those Liberals wince. . . .

Boston, Mass. KENNETH ROBERTSON, JR.

No "Pseudo" Liberals

The cleverness of the Liberals in twisting traditional moral terms such as "justice," "fair play," . . . to their own advantage, tends to obscure the emergence, in the mind of the average American, of the realization that the Liberal viewpoint rests really on the rejection of all those values he holds most dear. Liberalism is a hatred and contempt for the past, for tradition, with a worship of merely material values. . . .

I disagree with those writers, whose letters you have published, who feel the word "liberal" to be so sacrosanct that in order to use it critically, the word "pseudo" should be attached. . . For my part, when I criticize Liberals I *mean Liberals*. . . .

Ann Arbor, Mich. ROBERT E. HITCHCOCK

Reason Unrevolted

I think your magazine is a PIP. It does my old conservative heart good to read thoughts that do not revolt my reason. . . . Imagine this confession from a Democrat. . . .

Santa Monica, Cal. IRIS MCBAIN

No Grim Diatribes

. . . [NATIONAL REVIEW] has literary merit, and some of the departments like Prof. Kendall's have deft, clever touches. Others take the Liberals apart without an accompanying grim diatribe on the unhealthy State of the Union which I thoroughly enjoy. . . .

I just scanned the material on Herblock [February 8]. Although he is unquestionably clever, yet I hold he, more than any of his contemporaries is a corrosive influence. Keep your needles sharp!

Chattanooga, Tenn. FRANK PRESCOTT

Fact of French Life

. . . Unfortunately, most Americans . . . ignore that capital fact of French political and social life as stated by W. S. Schlamm [January 18], " a substantial part of the French nation is still not reconciled to the French Revolution." If our foreign policy . . . did not continue to ignore that fact and a correlative one—that conservative French do not want to live on American handouts—then perhaps our State Department would not have spent so much time and money keeping the old worn-out "middle of the road" politicians and their leftist allies in the driver's seat over there. . . .

South Shaftsbury, Vt. RUTH C. DOUGLAS

A Canadian View

. . .Even though we Prince Edward Islanders are ineffectual in world events, we, as all Canadians, are very much concerned over the internal as well as international politics of the United States. The stupidity of some of your leaders has been rather discouraging, and we wish you well in your efforts to restore reason to human affairs.

JOHN ELDON GREEN

Charlottetown, P.E.I.

"Sad-Eyed Pundit"

The article on that sad-eyed pundit Walter Lippmann [February 1] was delightful. . . .

The late lamented Jack Reed, in 1923, in his utterly delightful, privately printed *Day in Bohemia* wrote of him:

He builds a world
And leaves out all the fun.

Washington, D.C. RICHARD DOUGLAS

Obscure Words

. . . My purpose [in writing is] to debunk the pretensions of a coterie of writers, reviewers whose cant employs the use of obscure words to hide more obscure thinking. I refer, in this instance, to the review of Richard Weaver [February 15] on the works of I. A. Richard, of whom he entertains a most high opinion. Of course, I may be doing Mr. Weaver an injustice, since many of his quotes are taken from context. . . .

Weaver says that in his book, *Meaning of Meaning,* Richards writes of "divorcing the world of utterances into emotive and referential terms." In the name of common sense, what are these fellows talking about? . . .

Valencia, Pa. JAMES T. LAPPAN

Likes Satire

If, on paper, you have to slug it out with the enemy . . . I can think of no better manner than . . . [through] ridicule. . . . The writer of this has the academic background of a Nebraska jack-rabbit but finds NATIONAL REVIEW good reading, not "high hat" and with enough wit in it to arouse the laughs of his companions of apelike brows. . . .

Hartford, Conn. RICHARD MARKEY

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